THE SECOND GENERATION OF ITALIANS IN NEW YORK CITY

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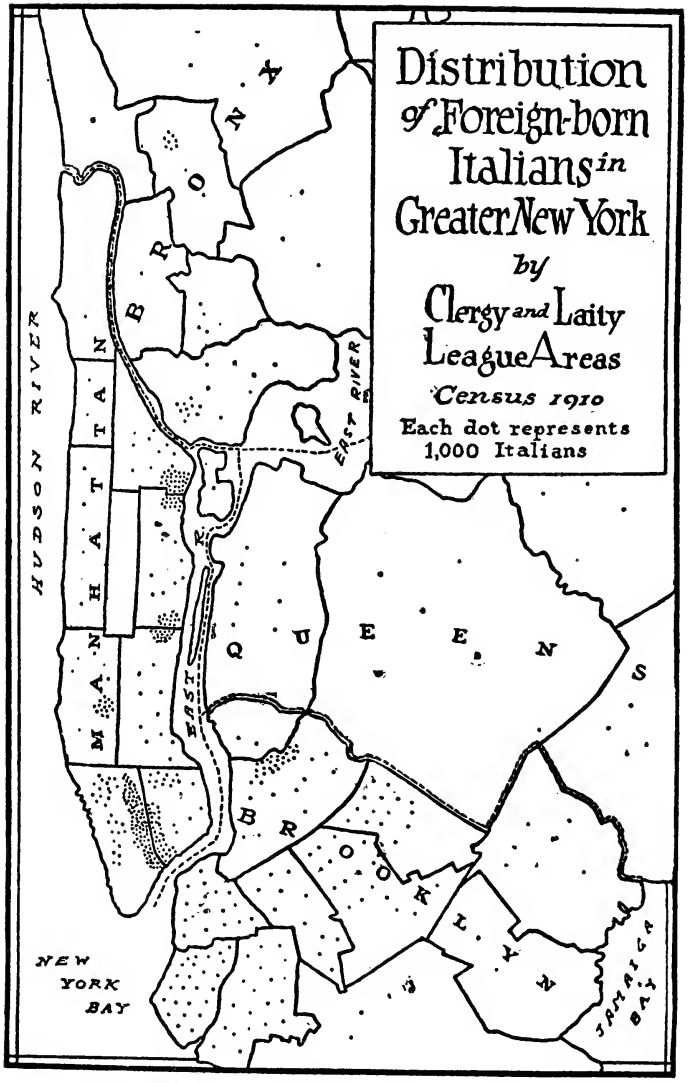

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The Second Generation of Italians in New York City

BY

JOHN HORACE MARIANO

".....submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy at New York University"
(*Department of Sociology*)

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CHAPTER I

NATURE AND EXTENT OF INVESTIGATION

PURPOSE—What is there about the American of Italian extraction that distinguishes him from other Americans? Is there a real difference? The Americans of Italian extraction that are studied here form one of the largest elements numerically in our population. Before any adequate understanding of them is to be had a thoroughly modern and scientific sociological survey needs to be made with respect to their individual natures and their concerted or group reactions.

The purpose of this study is to afford a sociological evaluation of the psychological traits and social organization of this type of American, based upon a first hand investigation of the type in question. Personal experience gained through a variety of contacts with these people, supplemented by information gained in interviews with people who are closest to this problem afforded the bulk of the evidence analyzed. Where personal interviews were out of the question, in many cases it was possible to get at the ideas that exist regarding these people by means of a questionnaire described in a later chapter. The information gathered from the above sources and elsewhere, as will be described later, is used to denote the sociological status of Americans of Italian extraction in New York City. These Americans, like the second generation of Americans of other racial stocks, form an integral part of our American population, distinct and apart from our immigrant population "per se." Whereas in the past in considering the status of the racial elements within our borders one's chief attention or interest centered upon a type that was either foreign or Americanized through the legal naturalization process, here the emphasis is to be placed upon a type that to begin with is AMERICAN. From a mere description, therefore, of types that have characterized studies of the past, we pass on to an attempt to analyze the character and measure the force of the contribution,

if contribution there be, that these Americans of Italian blood make to our older American life, customs, and ways of doing things.

The main purpose of this study, therefore, is, (1) to intelligently interpret Americans of Italian extraction to other Americans by pointing out what the fundamental characteristics of this type of American are as reflected through their social organization and other visible activities; (2) to interpret these activities from the standpoint of what we understand Americanism to mean and (3) to show what and how much this type of American is contributing towards the solution of the problem peculiar to America, namely, the synthetization of her composite population groups and the evolving of a stable American type.

SCOPE—This study is limited to those Americans of Italian blood that were either born here or who came here when they were very young. It excludes the adult immigrant who as a rule, among the Italian stock at least, is so thoroughly ingrained with the traditions of the "homeland" that he himself is neither able to be affected in any very radical way through his contacts with our institutions nor to contribute creatively to our American Democracy.

Likewise the activities described and evaluated here are limited to those whose origin and existence strictly depend upon such Americans as above indicated, and not upon the immigrant.

For various reasons the writer has seen fit to limit this study to Americans of Italian extraction domiciled on Manhattan Island and in its immediate environs i. e. parts of what are known as and make up the "Greater City," viz: Brooklyn, Queens, Bronx and Richmond.

The reasons for this limitation are obvious. First for purely physical reasons it has been impossible to subject to the same uniform scrutiny and thoroughness of investigation the dense colonies of individuals similar in descent and located at such diverse places as Newark, San Francisco, Denver, Los Angeles, New Orleans, etc.; second, the problem of investigating this type is nowhere so pressing as it is here (more individuals, taking both

our type in question and their immediate parents, live here than in Naples, the largest city of Italy); third, practically every socio-economic problem that exists elsewhere among these people is duplicated here; fourth, the opportunity for making comparisons with other races exists here in the most marked degree; fifth, the nature of the "milieu" or human nature stuff in and among which this American is reacting, is in itself a potent factor in determining the nature of his reactions, and therefore not only numbers, but diversity of races is a factor to be considered; sixth, the numerical factor involved in making a study in New York City rather than elsewhere is a happy one, in that we have a more just basis for making deductions; lastly, New York City combines in its outlying districts, namely in Queens and Staten Island, the looser and more spread out or sparsely settled character of the colonies composed of Americans of Italian extraction existing elsewhere.

The method used in this survey will vary. Wherever possible, the statistical method will be employed. By means of statistical data, an attempt will be made to point out, quantitative measurements permitting, the numbers of these people and their sociological position in the community. These will be evaluated sociologically in the light of comparisons made with the products of other racial stocks. For instance, it is a fact often deplored of the Italian stock that relief work among the Italians in New York City is largely dependent upon the initiative and leadership of persons other than those of Italian blood. An instance in point is the case of the numerous war relief societies that sprang up during the war and whose aim was to bring succor to the Italian portion of our war's destitute. To a casual observer, such a condition among a people numbering easily the third or fourth largest element in our population might mistakenly betray a lack either of leadership or of the power of cooperation, and as such it has not infrequently been characterized. It more truly instances, however, the uniform lack of great financial men of Italian extraction in New York City. As evidence of this witness the names Morgan, Davison and Lamont—all

prominent in charity work among Italian speaking people here.

On the basis of the figures shown in the numerous tables throughout, and the comparisons that these tables afford, some deductions regarding the value of the type under surveillance will be attempted. It will be noticed that our method is not primarily that of an intensive study of individual cases; but rather, an extensive study of the larger sociological relationships has been the end held in view throughout. Where so many are concerned one would get nowhere if the former method were tried. In fact, there are plenty of institutions where such studies can better be made. In this way only was it possible to get a perspective of the tendency towards which the type is gravitating, and to distinguish the subtypes and varieties into which, as all indications point, the Italian strain is beginning to ramify, just as the older German, Scotch-Irish, and English did some decades ago.

SOURCES—The sources for the interpretations set forth are mainly gathered from a first hand study of the people in question themselves, gained by the writer through a constant and intimate contact as one of them in their play, school, and work. Back of this similarity of origin and supplementing this original contact lies the writer's experience, extending throughout five years as a social worker for the Children's Aid Society of this city, and as "Special National Field Scout Commissioner" with the Boy Scouts of America, permitting him to do organizing and executive work among Italian colonies all over the United States. These afforded an unparalleled opportunity for studying the nature of the various kinds of organizations effected by these people as well as for observing practically all of their other activities.

The writer's position made it possible for him to come in contact with and interview many of the most prominent Americans of Italian blood in New York City who are today actually engaged in mastering this problem of social interpretation and their testimony forms a substantial part of this study. Relative to this problem, it has been deemed advisable also to insert statements of Italians who are in our midst, causing to stand out

clearer by way of contrast, the information gained from those who, remaining essentially Italian in their thoughts, actions, and speech, are looking at Americanization from another angle.

Lastly, the views of representative Americans of other ancestry than Italian, whose work or studies make their ideas valuable, are utilized, and, some of them have expressed themselves upon a concrete phase of these people's activities. Many such Americans have spent their lives in a devoted service to the welfare and uplift of Italians, and the representative character of their offices can be fairly assumed to insure the widest latitude for fairness and disinterestedness in their expressions. All these facts are incorporated in the questionnaire developed on pages 238 to 373 inclusive.

The writer has also not failed to supplement his personal experience with a prolific use of the statistical records compiled by government officials, the publications of the Census Bureau, reports from social welfare and Americanizing agencies. In all cases where such data have been used, credit has been given and the source duly recorded.

CHAPTER II

DIFFICULTIES UNDERLYING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ITALIAN ELEMENT

DIFFICULTY OF COLLECTING DATA—The adult Italian is untrained and natively suspicious and yet before one can fairly or adequately interpret this rising generation of Americans it is absolutely essential that the observer know something of the individual type from which he sprang. One must become familiar with the conditions that beset this problem and make it distinctive. Collecting information from the "untutored" is not without its own difficulties.

The majority of Italian immigrants who seek our shores are driven here by stern economic necessity.* The hope of securing a better livelihood, the desire for the greater individual liberty that comes from added leisure, and, with some, the anticipated savings which will make it possible for them to return and live out their remaining years in the "homeland" in comparative opulence in return for the hazards undertaken—formed in the past as in the present the greatest of impelling motives. How closely related to the phenomenon of immigration was the pressure of the population upon the means of subsistence in Italy is shown by the Italian census in 1881 when the population was 257 to the square mile, and two decades or twenty years later when in spite of the great annual afflux to both North and South America this density had increased to 294 per square mile.

* "Italy even today is in the unique position of seeing her population increase with the going on of war. This apparent paradox is easily explained if one remembers that several hundreds of thousands of Italians returned from abroad to serve under her colors; and that had it not been for the war Italy would have lost by emigration about half a million men and women each year for the past four years. The war by preventing emigration has kept all that population at home thus increasing Italy's population at a rate far greater than in time of peace in spite of the war losses." (Statement by Dr. Felice Ferrero, Director, Italian Bureau for Public Information, Saturday Post, July 20, 1918.)

On the whole the class of Italians that comes here represents the element lowest in the socio-economic scale that Italy possesses. This is to say that the stratum of Italian life in which the margin of economic subsistence has followed most closely and pressed most heavily upon the margin of possible economic resistance, has been the class that has poured its legions into our midst. Such people have had little opportunity in life, are untrained and as a rule, offer less intelligent contact to one gathering data than would otherwise be the case. Their suspicion and distrust make it difficult to secure reliable information.

RECENCY OF ITALIAN IMMIGRATION—Another consideration is the comparative recency of Italian immigration. Emigration from Southeastern Europe began about 1880 and is the most recent of the great emigration movements from the continent to our shores. The Italian makes up a large portion of this newest wave of immigration and at the outbreak of the war in 1914 represented the country that sent over the greatest number.

With the immigrant the chief problem is to secure a position; his next is to see to it that it is permanent. Arthur Train says in speaking of the Italian immigration movement to this country "it would take a generation for these people of the old world to get out of their systems the tradition that in some ways they are bound to the soil where they serve and cannot leave it; a generation for them to realize that they are free to come and go and to take part in the activities, political and otherwise of the nation at large. Herein lies the difference between the old immigrant, *the adult Italian*,* the man who seeks refuge in America for his declining years and the boy of twelve, fifteen or eighteen *the American of Italian extraction*** who has life all before him. The older man is set in his ideas. This is shown in New York City in the Genoese districts where the grandfather who came to this country took up his abode and where he still lives." Such an individual rarely hopes for much else. Leader-

* Italics are ours.
** ditto

ship, if it be there, is largely confined to work in the Italian community and such individuals become semi-patriarchal potentates giving advice, alleviating suffering and even dispensing justice. Cooperation is invariably confined to others who have come over from Italy with them and from the same town. The radius of their circle of cooperation is practically zero when Americans of other stocks are concerned. Their own internal cooperation serves to set them off as a group apart and they act as a community within a community. This holds true for *all* nationalities and is a *psychical* not a *racial* characteristic. This exclusive character of adult Italian life therefore offers great difficulty to outsiders gathering data, and information which on the surface of things appears reliable may easily lead to gross errors in interpretation. Differences in dialects, customs, habits of life, in some instances represent wide cleavages; in other instances such differences are more apparent than real.

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN ITALIAN — By far the majority of the immigrants from Italy have come from its southern districts; few from the north. One cannot fail to be impressed with the wide differences that exist educationally and socially between the North and South Italian. These differences however are not inherent in the type but reflect the better economic advantages that North Italy affords.

It is not surprising therefore to find these people mentally lowest in the scale of culture among immigrants that come to our shores. Some years ago when, with a million or more of immigrants pouring into our midst, the problem had become acutest, statistics showed that seventy percent of the immigrants from southern Italy were illiterate.

The great disparity in mental and material cultures between the northern and the southern adult Italian immigrant is reduced to a nullity in the case of their offspring, showing the powerful levelling influence of American democracy and systems of education.

UNSETTLED PROBLEMS — Interested as we are in ascertaining what the value of the descendants of these people is in our democracy, we shall try to center our

attention upon several facts that in a democracy are of the greatest moment. First with respect to the question of "leadership." On the basis of the activities disclosed in the section on Social Organization with reference particularly to New York City, we are to raise the question, "Is the American of Italian extraction deficient with respect to the qualities that make for leadership?" So many people say that if an undertaking centering chiefly upon matters that affect the Italian is to be successful it must be organized and managed by others than those of Italian blood! Equally serious is the charge that a lack of cooperation exists among these people and that their relative disorganization is shown in the variegated sections within the Italian colony itself where on one street lives a type that has customs and habits entirely distinct from the customs and habits of those occupying the next street. "Is this lack of cooperation more apparent than real?" Finally and most important we are interested in knowing if what the American of Italian extraction brings to us is a pro rata share towards the creation of the type of mind and character of institution that we can label as being distinctively AMERICAN.

It is not expected that questions such as those above will be settled by this study. It is sufficient, if by raising these issues, it will become more apparent than was hitherto true, that a great deal of the internal racial problems of America are due to SOCIAL MAL-ADJUSTMENTS in immigrant localities rather than to any inherent defect of mental traits—thus raising a problem, essentially sociological rather than psychological, for the future to solve.

REASONS FOR INVESTIGATION—One may ask for the reasons of a study of this kind. There are many reasons why a study of this description is useful. The chief one is a lack of definite sociological data regarding the second generation of Americans of Italian origin. Equally important is such a study because as the writer believes, with the detailed sociological and psychological study of racial groups such as this is, there will be less of that forwardness on the part of some individuals to assert superiority for any one group. It

will more clearly be seen how much is due to opportunity and environment and how little to race superiority, if such a thing exist at all. Again, with regard to the process of Americanization, it is desired that chief attention be given to aspects of synthetization.

Not unimportant also is this study in defining anew for us the term "democracy" and the help that such a study gives in reminding us of the need of keeping constantly in the foreground the fact that for us, as yet, democracy needs to be continually redefined; that it is not a complete and finished thing but is being constantly moulded and shaped in accordance with our changing socio-politico-economic conditions. It can clearly be seen, therefore, that such a study is of great value in increasing the means whereby we can rationally and intelligently direct our Americanizing movements, and is of inestimable importance in marking out a clear line between the old emphasis of the past, which was built chiefly around an alien, and the new, which aims to focus its fullest rays of light upon those individuals who, to begin with, are distinctly AMERICAN. Lastly, if we wish, we might read into this study, in so far as the Italian strain is concerned, at any rate, something concerning the rate of success that our social institutions are meeting with in their endeavor to turn out normal Americans.

PART II

SURVEY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

CHAPTER III

POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION

DIFFICULTIES OF ACCURATE ENUMERATION —It is difficult to ascertain with absolute accuracy the number of Americans of Italian extraction located in the greater city. The reason for this is that no organization, social, educational, political or religious exists today which is sufficiently interested in collecting and keeping statistics of the type of American under consideration here apart from Americans of other racial stocks.

If one were to attempt this task the ideal method would be a house to house canvass. The thousands of homes that would thus have to be canvassed make this impossible. Instead therefore, the figures of this population under investigation are derived from other sources.*

The only study ever made and bearing on this problem is not a recent one and many changes have occurred since to modify the findings then reported . As an approximation tho it can still be instructive. In 1903 the Italian Chamber of Commerce decided to find out how many Italians were domiciled in both the City and the State of New York.

*Since the war Italian immigration has become nil. Nevertheless, the process of Americanization is still going on among those who have come here from Italy and among their descendents. As these latter people become more and more mature, they move away from the settlement formerly inhabited and locate elsewhere. It is safe to say that nine out of every ten such individuals the moment it is possible for them to do so move out and locate elsewhere than in the original settlement of the parent, thereby mingling inextricably with Americans of other extractions. Because of this fact and also because of a definite percentage who thru marriage become inseparably intermingled with other stocks any attempt to deal conclusively with the numbers of Americans of Italian blood in New York City is well-nigh futile.

A committee was appointed of which Giovanni Branchi, then Consul General, was chairman. This committee reported the following data:

RESIDENT ITALIANS

NEW YORK STATE	NEW YORK CITY
272,572 (pop. in 1900)	225,026 (pop. in 1900)
18,322 (excess of births over deaths)	14,121 (excess of births over deaths)
195,281 (excess of arrivals over departures)	143,628 (excess of arrivals over departures)
486,175 (total 1903)	382,775 (total 1903)

The large excess of births over deaths is testimony to the high vitality of the race while the high preponderance of male entrants as compared to females is an indication of the type's economic possibilities.

Various other writers have at times attempted to calculate the distribution of Italian blood in New York City. Professor Willcox figured that in 1900 the Italian population in New York City was 145,433.* The last census in 1910 found 340,322 Italians residing here who had been born in Italy. A great many of these tho came here at a very early age; to be exact 10.4% came to this country before their fourteenth birthday and therefore are eligible for inclusion in this study. Altogether in 1910 there were 531,857 Italian speaking people domiciled in Greater New York from which those born in Italy, namely 340,322, are to be subtracted leaving us a total of 191,535 Americans of Italian extraction residing here for the year 1910. To this are to be added the subsequent births for the ensuing years. These latter figures are 206,163 distributed by years, viz:

NUMBER OF REPORTED BIRTHS OF ITALIAN PARENTAGE IN NEW YORK CITY**

1911—28,290
1912—29,600
1913—29,533
1914—31,023
1915—29,717
1916—29,011
1917—28,989

Total—206,163

*Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 20, pp. 523-46

**Thru courtesy of Dr. Wm. H. Guilfoy, Registrar of Records, Department of Health.

From 1911 to 1917 one million seven thousand Italians entered this country but from this number the 801,792 that returned are to be subtracted.* Of the 205,208 that remained only 24 per cent or 49,249 located in New York City. This last added to the 340,322 persons of foreign-born Italian stock here in 1910 raises the present population representing the older generation to 389,571. The deaths for the Italian strain since 1910 have averaged in any one representative year 10.24 per thousand population.** This permits us to deduct 27,923 and 28,504 from the figures representing the older and the younger generations respectively, leaving a final grand total of 730,842 Italian speaking people domiciled in New York City. These computations include both the adult Italian and his offspring the American of Italian extraction. In tabular form these figures compared to the total population of the Greater City are:

ITALIAN BLOOD IN POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY, 1917

		Total Italian-speaking Population			
Year	Total Population	1st Generation (foreign born Ital.)	Per cent compared to total Pop.	2nd Generation (Am. of Ital. ext.)	Per cent compared to total Pop.
1880a	1,911,698	12,223b	6	x	
1890	2,507,414	74,687	3	40,190	2
1900	3,437,202	145,429	4	74,168b	2.5
1910	4,769,883	340,322	7	191,545	4
1917	5,748,629c	361,648	6	369,194d	6

a In 1850 the Italian portion of this country's population was so small as to be negligible amounting to but 0.2%. (Century of Pop. & Growth. Bur. of Census. p. 130)

b Foerster, R. F. The Italian Emigration of Our Times. p. 325.

c New York City Board of Health figures.

d Computed from original data furnished thru kindness of Dr. Guilfoy.

x Negligible owing to large percentage of early returns to homeland and scarcity of females.

For the first and second generations of Italian blood alone the figures given below are arranged to include not as Italians but as Americans the 10.4 per cent of the entire Italian foreign born population of this city that entered who had not attained their fourteenth birthday. These individuals, notwithstanding their foreign birth, are for our purposes here classed as Americans of Italian origin because the plastic state of both their minds and bodies will unquestionably render them extremely susceptible to American ideas and education. They represent a type different from the adult Italian who is so ingrained with the traditions of the "homeland" that he himself is neither able to be affected in any very radical way by American conditions nor to contribute creatively to American democracy. Some of the biggest leaders of the second generation of Italians in New York City as well as some of the most promising material now attending our schools and universities are of this class. It it curious and interesting to note in this connection that the only two books intelligently written on the subject of Italians in America and recently published should be written by individuals of this type who having been born in Italy came here before their 14th birthday. Wm. P. Schriver and Dean George Hodges in writing the prefaces for "Sons of Italy" by Antonio Mangano and "Social and Religious Life of Italians in America" by Henry C. Sartorio both make mention of this fact.

Instead of tabulating the figures below as "first" and "second" generation it is more proper to label them as "Italian" and "American of Italian extraction." For the entire city the figures are:

THE ITALIAN SPEAKING POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY—1917

TYPE	NUMBER	PERCENT
Italians	324,037	44.3
Americans of Italian extraction	406,805	55.7
TOTAL	730,842	100.0

* Compiled from Annual Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration.

** Actual death rate for Italians in New York City in 1915. (vide, Guilfoy. Influence of Nationality upon Mortality of a Community, Monograph Series, 1917, No. 18, p. 26.

Other writers make the figures a little lower. Antonio Mangano in a very excellent book referred to above figures that the Italians in New York City approximate 600,000.* Others put it at 700,000.** The more recent writers accept this.† Corporation Counsel Burr before a recent meeting of the Academy of Political Science said that there were more Italians here than there were in Naples. If this is so not only would the approximate figures of 700,000 be true but it would make of this city the greatest Italian center in the world.

DENSITY—By density is meant the number of persons to each square mile of land area. No very recent figures exist for comparing the densities of the various racial groupings scattered thruout the city. Certainly, the Italian colony‡ located at Mulberry Bend Park is as densely populated as any other section of the city. Not very long ago it was found that the most densely populated spot in the world was located somewhere in the section around 10th and 11th avenues, north of 34th

* Published by the Missionary Education Movement, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. (Mangano takes no account of the population increase since the last 1910 census).

** World Outlook; Italian Number, October 1909. ed. Willard Price.

† Train, Arthur, "Unhooking the Hyphen," Saturday Evening Post, August 10th, 1918.

‡ One great difficulty universally experienced in writings dealing with people of Italian blood is the haphazard and loose way in which the term Italian is used to designate individuals. If an individual's name ends with a vowel, he is classed as an Italian tho he may have come from stock that was born in this country, as is true particularly of a large group of Genoese located around the Five Points section in Mulberry Bend. Italians who have come from Italy and who have never been naturalized, Italians who after having lived here a greater or less number of years, have become naturalized and therefore are Americans, and Americans born of Italian stock, and Americans born of Americanized Italians—all are promiscuously lumped together and dealt with as tho they were of a like class. Very often the gulf between them is wide. This study thruout uses the terms "Italian," and "American of Italian extraction," the two main types, very guardedly and deprecates the use of careless language with its consequent confusion, described above.

Street and south of 59th Street and that there were located in this section 11,000 persons to the acre.*

The survey of the Federation of Churches, conducted in 1904 found the block bounded by Second and Third streets, Ave B to Ave. C (a Jewish block) to have 4,105 residents and "this appears by a comparison of all the blocks of the Tenement House Report to be the largest population within four streets of Manhattan." Dr. Laidlaw adds however that while it may be the most populated it need not be the densest.† It is likely, however, that since then other sections have increased at a more rapid rate so that the most densely populated section of New York City lies elsewhere. The writer is inclined to believe that this distinction lies between the large Jewish colony located on such streets as Rivington, Forsythe and Eldridge and the Italian colony at Mulberry Bend, Bayard, Baxter, Elizabeth and Hester Streets, both of which sections have very many characteristics that are similar.

Dr. Bushee found the density of population in the Italian quarter at the North End of Boston to average 1.40 persons per sleeping room.** This was true in 1891 but it has since increased 65%. The same condition exists among the Italian quarters in New York City. The only data we have regarding density in such quarters is fairly recent. In 1912 Dr. Antonio Stella made a study of housing conditions in the Italian quarters in the lower part of this city. His findings are both interesting and instructive. "The old seventh ward which contains a great part of the Italian population," he says, "has a density of 478 people per acre. This is greater than the density of the districts of Bethnal Green and Skeldergate in London where the greatest density was found to be 365 and 349 people to the square acre respectively, and this Rowntree considered greater than that of any other city of Europe."*** Five separate investigations

* Lectures by Prof. Franklin H. Giddings; in Inductive Sociology given at Columbia University in 1915. (It is to be added tho in this connection that accurate data regarding conditions in China and in India are not to be had).

† Federation, December, 1904.

** Bushee, Prof. F. A. "Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston" American Economic Ass'n. Third Series, 1903.

*** Stella, Dr. Antonio; La Lotta comtra La Tubercolosi fra gli Italiani nella Citta di New York. p. 47 passim.

made at various points in this city are quoted here to point out the general character of over-population and unusual density among Italian speaking people. In certain places on East 13th Street, a Sicilian district, Dr. Stella found that 1231 people lived in 120 rooms, an average of ten people to a room, with less than 18 cubic meters of air for each individual.†

In another section on Seventh Avenue, a Calabrian section, he found twenty rooms populated by eight families totalling 42 people of whom 24 were children. Dr. Guilfoy found seven tenement houses populated by 1500 people.* Block X of the old 14th Ward, Lord found to have the most unenviable distinction of being the most densely populated of Italian blocks he investigated and to contain the largest number of Italian families of Italian origin in the city. In this block 492 families were lodged in an area extending north from Prince Street between Mott and Elizabeth Streets. In one of these blocks alone, the so-called "Lung" block, were counted more than 4000 people, one quarter of whom were Americans of Italian extraction.** Lastly Chapin's study of conditions in New York City showed the Italians (disregarding the Bohemians whose numbers are insignificant) rivalled only by the Austrians in over-crowding, viz: ‡

OVER-CROWDING BY NATIONALITIES

Nationality	Total No. of Families	No. reporting more than 1½ persons per room	Percent
United States	67	20	30
Teutonic	39	8	21
Irish	24	12	50
Colored	28	16	57
Bohemian	14	11	79
Russian	57	35	61
Austrian	32	21	65
Italian	57	37	65
TOTAL	318	160	50

These findings if true point to the fact that perhaps in the Italian colony at Mulberry Bend Park there are

† ibid. p. 48.

* Medical Record, Jan. 5th, 1908.

** Lord, Trenor and Barrows. The Italian in America.

‡ Chapin, Robert C. The Standard of living in New York City, p. 81.

more individuals living per square acre than upon any other square acre that we know of in the world. Prof. Foerster's vivid description is both interesting and instructive in this connection.‡ New York City's total acreage is 201,659. With a population of five and one half million this would average a population of 22.31 per square mile. Distributed by boroughs the figures of the city's population for all nationalities are:*

DENSITY OF POPULATION PER ACRE IN NEW YORK CITY

Year	N. Y. City	Manhattan	Bronx	Brooklyn	Queens	Richmond
1910	23.66	166.08	16.56	32.89	3.78	2.34

While we see in the above the density per acre for the city at large is but 23.66, in the old Second Assembly district which is predominantly Italian it jumps to 170.4 and in the old Sixth District to the astounding figures of 397.6,** pointing to a physical background for the type that we are studying that is highly abnormal.

‡"Who that has sauntered thru these colonies can forget them? Who, since they are unique, can describe them? An ant hill is like them or a bee-hive—but too soon all analogies break down! Where East Houston, Mott, Prince and Elizabeth Streets come together in New York, making one block fairly long but very narrow, dwell 3500 people, 1100 to the acre. It disputes with few other blocks the dismal honor of being the most populous spot on earth. Its tenements rise four or five stories into the air but each story bursts, as if the inward pressure were too great, into a balcony. The street below is at once playground and place of business; one threads one's way betwixt pushcarts and stands, past little children and quite as little old women, whose black eyes scintillate above their bronzed Sicilian cheeks. Here doctor and mid-wife might make a living while scarcely leaving the block. (One child in nine dies before the age of five.) On each floor, as a rule, are four 'flats,' often of two rooms; one room serving as kitchen, dining-room, and general living room, the other as bed-room. 'There is not,' says a government report, 'a bath-tub in this solid block, unless there be some in the Children's Aid Society building, and only one family has a hot water range. In one of the buildings there are radiators in the hall, but the furnace has never been lighted in the recollection of the present tenants. All halls are cold and dirty the greater part of the time, and most of them are dark.' Neither bath-tub nor stove is an institution which these immigrants have known in Italy, but in America both climate and the perils of crowded living make their omission costly." (Taken from The Italian Emigration of Our Times, p. 382-3).

*Pratt, Edward E. Industrial Causes of Congestion in New York City, p. 28.

**ibid p. 31.

DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN COLONIES—Because as one writer puts it "no other nationality in New York City is so given to aggregation as the Italian" there is scarcely another nationality that so thoroughly stamps as foreign the district it occupies. Nevertheless in with the Italians are Hebrews, Syrians, Greeks and other nationalities of Southeastern Europe. Again there are thousands of Italian speaking people domiciled in sections where other racial stocks predominate so that these are not included in the estimated figures by districts that follow. It is understood that the figures given for the population of the different colonies or sections are approximate. A distribution of the Italian speaking population in New York City by Boroughs follows:

DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN COLONIES IN MANHATTAN

Section or Locality	Street Boundaries	Chief Dialects Spoken	Estimated Population (Approx.)
Mulberry Bend Park	Worth, Lafayette, Bowery and Houston Sts.	Genoese Calabrian Neapolitan Sicilian	110,000
West Side (lower)	Canal, West 4th, West Broadway, North River	Calabrian Piedmontese Tuscan Neapolitan	70,000
East Side (middle)	East 9th St., East River, 2nd Ave., and 33rd St.	Sicilian Calabrian	18,000
West Side (middle)	34th St., 59th St., North River and Ninth Ave.	Neapolitan Genoese Turinese Milanese	15,000
E. Harlem (Little Italy)	134th St., 125th St., 2nd. Ave. to East River	Neapolitan Calabrian Sicilian Salernitano	75,000
White Plains Ave.		Neapolitan	3,500
Van Cortlandt		Sicilian	2,000
Gun Hill Road		Calabrian	1,500
Scattering		Miscellaneous	15,000
TOTAL			310,000

DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN COLONIES IN BRONX

Section or Locality	Street Boundaries	Chief Dialects Spoken	Estimated Population (Approx.)
Fordham	Fordham Rd., So. Boulevard, 180 St. and 3rd Ave.	Abbruzzese Barese Sicilian	35,000
Morrisania	3rd Ave., 149th St., 161st St., Park Ave.	Barese Sicilian Abbruzzese Neapolitan	20,000
Williamsbridge		Neapolitan Sicilian	20,000
Van Nest		Neapolitan Calabrian	15,000
Bedford Pk.	Bedford Pky., Moshulu Pky., Jerome Ave., and The Concourse	Calabrian Neapolitan Sicilian	15,000
Scattering		Miscellaneous	10,000
TOTAL			115,000

DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN COLONIES IN RICHMOND

Section or Locality	Street Boundaries	Chief Dialects Spoken	Estimated Population (Approx.)
Rosebank	St. Mary's Ave., Tompkins Ave., Chestnut Ave.	Sicilian Calabrian Neapolitan	6,500
Tompkinsville	Van Duzer St., St. Paul's Ave., Hannah St.	Neapolitan	3,500
New Brighton	Jersey St., Brighton Ave.	Calabrian	3,000
Arrochar	Richmond Ave. Old Town Road	Sicilian	2,000
Port Richmond	Elm Street	Neapolitan	1,000
West New Brighton	Richmond St., Brighton Ave.	Sicilian	1,000
Dongan Hills	Puritan Ave., Liberty Ave.	Neapolitan	500
Tottenville Stapleton Arlington Mariner's Harbor Elm Park, etc.		Miscellaneous	2,500
TOTAL			20,000

DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN COLONIES IN BROOKLYN

Section or Locality	Street Boundaries	Chief Dialects Spoken	Estimated Population (Approx.)
Bridge Section	Front, High, Gold, and Prospect Sts.	Calabrian	10,000
City Park	Hudson Ave., Navy Yard, N. Portland & Myrtle Avs	Neapolitan Gragitano	15,000
Hamilton Ave.	Hamilton Ave., Court St., Atlantic Ave., Columbia St.	Sicilian	20,000
Fourth Ave.	Fifth Ave., Degraw St., Nevins St., and 22nd St.	Neapolitan	30,000
Lefferts Pk.	New Utrecht Ave., 60th St., 11th Ave., 70th St.	Calabrian	10,000
Bath Beach & Coney Is.	Bay 11th, Bath Avenue to Coney Island	Sicilian	15,000
Franklin Ave.	DeKalb Ave., Marcy Ave., Flushing Ave., Grand Ave.	Calabrian	15,000
Williamsburg Ave.	Union Ave., N. 6th St., Bedford, Graham, Johnson Aves.	Neapolitan	40,000
Bushwick	Evergreen Ave., Willoughby Ave., Knickerbocker Ave., Flushing Ave.	Sicilian	30,000
Flatbush	Malbone St., Nostrand Ave., Kings County Bldgs and Flushing Ave.	Neapolitan	5,000
Troy Ave.	Troy Ave., St. Marks Ave. Utica Ave., Fulton St.	Neapolitan	5,000
East N. Y.	Rockaway Ave., Liberty Ave., Pennsylvania Ave., and Fulton St.	Neapolitan Salernitano Barese	20,000
Elton St.	Atlantic Ave., Ashford St., Glenmore Ave., Essex St.	Neapolitan	5,000
Scattering		Miscellaneous	15,000
TOTAL			235,000

DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN COLONIES IN QUEENS

Section or Locality	Street Boundaries	Chief Dialects Spoken	Estimated Population (Approx.)
Long Island City (No. Sec.)	Willow St., Washington Pl., Hallet St., Hoyt Ave.	Abruzzese	6,000
(East. Sec.)	Ninth Ave., Astoria Ave., Steinway Ave.	Salernitano	4,000
(West.Sec.)	Ridgwood, Hamilton St., Peeree St., Washington Ave., Webster & Graham Ave., Ridge St., Camilier St.	Sicilian Neapolitan Piedmontese	6,000
(So. Sec.)	Fifth to 10th Avenues	Neapolitan	2,000
Corona (West.Sec.)	Fifth Ave., Moore St., Sycamore Ave., Alburtis Ave.	Salernitano Neapolitan	6,000
(No. Sec.)	Corona Ave.	Basilicatanese	2,000
(East. Sec.)	Scattered	Miscellaneous	2,500
Jamaica (West.Sec.)	South St., Rockaway Ave.	Basilicatanese	6,500
Flushing (East. Sec.)	Amity St., W. Grove St. and Vicinity	Sicilian Neapolitan Calabrian	5,000
Scattered		Miscellaneous	15,000
TOTAL			55,000

AGE CLASSIFICATION—According to the 1910 census the actual age distribution of Italians that entered was:

AGE GROUPS OF ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS BY PERCENTS, 1910

Year	Race or People	Under 14 Yrs.	14-44 Yrs.	45 Yrs. and over
1910	Italian	10.4	83.5	6.1

When we come to consider Americans of Italian extraction it is perfectly safe to say that because of the very recent character of Italian immigration this type will plot its heaviest below the 21 year age line. When we consider that immigration from Italy that first amounted to anything started in 1882 with but 32,160 entering and that it was not until 1900 that it had crossed the 100,000 mark, we see that the descendents of these

people must be in a comparatively youthful stage. A glance at the age-figures of those entering in a representative year will show how truly homogeneous is this group of Italian origin from the standpoint of age-character—the great bulk of their parents being still in the prime of life when they arrived at this port. In actual numbers those entering in 1914, the year of the greatest immigration notwithstanding the abrupt stoppage due to the war, were:

ITALIAN IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES, 1914

Race	Number Admitted	Under 14 yrs.	14-44 yrs.	45 yrs. & over
Italian, North	44,802	4,775	38,106	1,921
Italian, South	251,612	32,936	201,428	17,248
Total	296,414	47,711	239,534	19,179

There are no age statistics for the second generation. The census bureau lumps the native-born of all foreign stocks together and makes one class of them. Before 1900 however the number (74,168) was so small as to be inconsequential. It has steadily increased since so that in 1910 it more than doubled itself, rising to 191,545 in actual numbers. But it has remained for the last decade from 1910 on to witness the most phenomenal increase of this class in New York City.* From 1910-1917 there was an increase of 177,649 or a scant 15,000 to keep the original 1900 figure from again having doubled itself within seven years this time instead of ten. Computed in round numbers there are today in New York City 175,000 Americans of Italian extraction (or 47%) of the second generation between one and nine years of age; 125,000 or 34% between ten and nineteen years of age; 35,000 or 9% in each of the two succeeding age groups namely,

*The actual increase by births for each year is as follows:

1901	11,130	1909	24,882
1902	12,746	1910	28,369
1903	14,625	1911	28,290
1904	16,301	1912	29,600
1905	18,252	1913	29,533
1906	21,216	1914	31,023
1907	23,805	1915	29,717
1908	25,754	1916	29,011
		1917	28,989

(Above figures from original data furnished by Dr. Guilfoy)

20-29 and 30-39 years, and finally 5,000 or 1% forty years and over.

As these figures show, the type we are studying is essentially in a state of transition, the majority of them or fully 90% being contained in the first two age groupings all below twenty-one years of age. Because of this fact the socio-economic conditions that we shall disclose in subsequent chapters like the "Standard of Living" and "Occupations" will be a standard of living dictated by the old generation and the facts themselves be largely socio-economic facts pertaining primarily to the first rather than to the second generation. For the reader to remember this is important because it affects practically the entire body constituting the second generation the members of which represent a state of transition, not having definitely and fully adjusted themselves to American life from the standpoint of their own free choices because of their immaturity in years. In the chapter on LITERACY we notice the position of this class "en masse" in our public schools. The figures there shown corroborate the above reflection for by far the greatest number, namely 72 percent of the American of Italian extraction is found in the primary grades.

According to the last available estimates of this city's population the figures put forth by the Board of Health show a population of 5,748,629 people. The population of New York City of school-going age i. e. 5-18 is 1,352,-460 or 23.6 per cent of the total population. Italians and Americans of Italian extraction numbering 730,842 represent 12.7 percent of the total population while the second generation constitutes 30.1 percent of the city's school going population.

SEX CLASSIFICATION—Just as in the age distribution so in the matter of sex no one study is available showing the distribution of this 700,000 odd population. According to the census taken in 1901* Italy with a pop-

*The latest census was taken in June, 1911 and showed for the entire population over 10 years of age the following: males 12,889,847; females 13,680,201 or substantially no difference from the figures quoted above. (Taken from ITALY TO-DAY, Bulletin of Italian Bureau of Public Information, 1918.)

ulation of 32,475,353 showed the following proportions between the sexes;

Country	Date of Census	POPULATION Male	Female	Proportion of Males to 100 Females
Italy	1901	16,155,130	16,320,123	99.0

The sex of our Italian immigrants was not anywhere thus evenly distributed because at the beginning approximately six males to one female entered this country. This disparity has been steadily decreasing, however, until now the proportion of men entering is three to one female.

In the United States the percentage of males to females is 106 in favor of the latter. For New York City according to the last census 1910, the proportion between the sexes is as follows:

Borough	Males	Females
Manhattan	1,168,657	1,164,883
Bronx	217,126	213,860
Brooklyn	809,891	824,560
Queens	144,205	139,836
Richmond	44,757	41,262

Dr. Laidlaw found thruout Manhattan as a whole which he considered representative, that native born females of all racial strains exceed the native-born males by 12,277 while the foreign-born females exceed the foreign-born males only by 1298. In the Bronx males exceed the females among the foreign-born population while the females exceed the males among the native-born. Dr. Laidlaw stated, however, that the above discrepancy was in large part due to the fact that a great many Italians were at that time engaged on the public works of this Borough.* It would seem from all this that of the adult generations the males predominate; but with the American of Italian extraction, no great disparity in sex exists that is of any moment, the distribution between male and female being practically even. For the entire population of foreign parentage, as a matter of fact, this same ratio of evenness between the sexes exists and has remained stationary since 1890 with a

* Federation, April 1912, p. 25.

tendency in most cities towards a decline in the number of males.*

CONJUGAL RELATIONSHIP—Marital statistics for Italians and Americans of Italian extraction show marked differences as is to be expected. For all nationalities daughters of the foreign-born show only 19% of those aged between 15-24 to be married, while among daughters of native-born parents 30% are married; for the men between 20-29 only 26% of the native-born sons of foreign stock are married; while of the sons of natives 38.5% are married.** As Prof. Commons points out this phenomenon sustains what can be proved in many large cities, and New York City is no exception. The following table shows the conjugal condition of entering immigrants:

CONJUGAL CONDITION OF IMMIGRANTS, 1910

Sex	PERCENTAGE							
	14 to 44 years				45 years and over			
	Single	Married	Wid.	Div.	Single	Married	Wid.	Div.
Males	55.3	44.2	0.5	a	5.2	86.8	7.9	a
Females	57.7	39.9	2.3	a	6.6	52.8	40.5	0.1

a. Less than one-tenth of one percent.

Fairchild points out the deep significance that these figures have for us in our problem of synthetization. More than half of all immigrants of both sexes are single, showing therefore that the immigration movement is not a movement of families. One of the greatest forces for Americanization in immigrant families is the growing children, in this case numbering 300,000 or 81 per cent. "Where they are lacking the adults have much less contact with assimilation influences."*** Together with the American of Jewish extraction, the type under surveillance here is able to bring all the possible advantages that numbers carry upon the process of synthetization and Americanization. Our type here as we have seen is most numerous within the three to nine age

* See also hand-book of Federal Statistics of Children, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 5, Second Edition, passim, where for the entire country for both the foreign and native stocks "the number of boys and girls is always nearly equal." p. 10.

** Commons, J. R., Races and Immigrants in America, p. 203.

*** Fairchild, H. P. Immigration, p. 202.

group and is consequently for the most part unmarried.

MIXED MARRIAGES—In the matter of children the question whether the two parents are of one strain is an important one. Dr. Jones found that the antipathy existing between the Irish and the Italian vanished when the latter learned the American point of view, and he hereafter expects to see a family life where marriages between the Italians and the Irish will be as numerous as have been marriages between the Germans and the Irish. In the latter case there is perhaps more in common. Both the Italian and the Irish colonies are strongholds of Catholicism and this coupled with their convivial affinities would help draw the emotional and highly strung natures of both these stocks together more frequently. As a matter of fact this mixing of the Irish with the Italian is a process that is going on rapidly, particularly in the Italian families on the middle West Side of New York City. We call to mind in this connection the situation as it exists for the City of Boston where a special inquiry showed that 236 Italian families in a colony of 7900 were of mixed parentage with predominantly Irish tendencies.

Some idea of the rapid absorption of Italian blood thru mixed marriages is afforded by the study of Ripley made some years ago. In all there were 484,207 Italians in the United States in 1900. Marriages of Italian mothers and American born fathers produced 2747 offspring; 23,076 had Italian fathers and native-born mothers; 12,523 had Italian fathers and mothers of some other non-American nationality, while 3,911 had Italian mothers and fathers neither American nor Italian born. Thus of the 484,000 Italians, nearly 1/10 were of mixed blood. This is as high a ratio of blood mixture as is found among any other group of immigrants representing the "newer immigration."*

For New York City we have some interesting data available for the first time. In 1900 there were only 108 births of mixed parentage in this city; by 1916 this had increased to 530 or a gain of 390.7 per cent: the fol-

* Ripley, Ezra P. "Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute" Vol. 38, p. 233.

lowing year 1917 saw a gain of 257 or 48.4 per cent over the preceding year* and if the figures of 1918 were available this percentage would be even higher. Dr. Guilfoy concludes from the above figures that "the war apparently has resulted in more Italian women marrying men of other nationalities." The war unquestionably was a factor in explaining the above but it was not the most important by any means. To the writer the main reason for the increasing prevalence of mixed marriages is the increasing number of Americans of Italian extraction, men and women alike, that are coming into what Jones has termed "the American point of view" and because of this, rather than because of the war we can confidently expect to see an increasing frequency of mixed marriages among these people.

RELATION BETWEEN SIZE OF FAMILY AND ITS PLACE IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCALE—It is obvious that for the earliest periods of family life there is a direct relation between the size of the family and its place in our socio-economic life. The more mouths there are to feed the more severe is the struggle for existence. This is but temporary, however, and after the children have grown up the burdens of the parents are considerably lessened.

It is the trying early period and the large percentage of the second generation among Italian speaking peoples of New York City that brought the Italians third in the bad preeminence of congested families. The test made was that of finding the greatest frequency for the highest number of persons per sleeping room. Twenty-two percent of all the Italians from the southern part of Italy occupied all of their rooms as sleeping rooms; outranked by but the Greeks and the Syrians who showed for this same phenomenon the percentages of 42.9 and 42.1 respectively.**

The Immigration Commission found that approximately 26 percent of the households they visited kept boarders or lodgers. In New York City this proportion

* Courtesy of Dr. Wm. H. Guilfoy, Registrar of Records, New York City Health Dept.

** Jenks and Lauck; The Immigration Problem, p. 133 passim.

was in round numbers 25 percent. Among Italians 42.9% were found to have used this means as an aid in solving the problem of living. In this they were outranked by the Lithuanians with 70.3 and Hungarians with 47%.* In contrast we find that only 9.5% of the Germans had boarders; 5.3% of the Syrians; 16.7% of the Irish; 13.1% of the Bohemians—all of which groups excepting the Germans constitute what is called the "old immigration." The writer's knowledge of the Italian home and the Italian temperament makes him believe that the social and convivial nature of the Latin, apart from the economy involved, helps markedly to give the Italian his high percentage.

The American of Italian extraction comes from a race where family ties are strong. This is evidenced by the fact that 13.7% of the contributors concerning themselves with the question "What does the American of Italian extraction lose by his contact with American democracy?" say that one of the chief losses that this type of American sustains thru his contacts with his new home in our American democracy is the loss of the warm and intimate family relationships that obtained among the older generation.** The nature of this strong family relationship is important to understand because usually the degree or intensity of saturation with American culture gained by individuals of this type varies inversely with the degree or intensity of grip that the family life of the older generation holds upon such an individual. There is a constant struggle or competition going on between the forces of the outside world, representing on the one hand, AMERICANISM, and on the other hand the influences of the home or of family life playing for the predominance of Italian habits, customs, ways of thinking and of ideas.

Jane Addams in her book "Twenty Years at Hull House" tells of a play written by an Italian playwright which depicted the too often insolent break between Americanized sons and old country parents so touch-

* ibid.

** Symposium, infra Chapter 25.

ingly that it moved to tears all the older Italians in the audience. It is this tenacity of holding on at all costs and for all time by the adult Italian to some of their old world standards that often makes the Irishman hate him very bitterly for he is willing to work regardless of workingmen's standards in this country. In many cases this "hiatus" between both generations is enough to account for the entire difference between a delinquent and a normal member of society. The best instance of this is seen in the cases of girls belonging to Italian homes. Held down close to the home of the older generation, essentially foreign, and dominated by the traditions of an environment and way of life totally different—the newer impulse of our freer life when it comes is sufficient to account for the many over-balancings. As Woods says "the Italian girl unless she has stepped beyond the confines of morality is rarely seen in any public place of amusement save in the company of an older person." It is this carrying over of foreign traditions and over-assiduity by the parents that makes for mischief and which accounts for the reason why so many girls of Italian origin are to be found in the custody of probation officers and the like. Yet as Woods again points out "no daughter is more carefully looked after than the child of Italian parents." The point we wish to make here is that the "family life" such as the American of Italian extraction often encounters operates as a fetter or hindrance to a full-blown Americanism. In some cases and particularly in the poorest sections the "family life" is of a kind almost worse than none at all.

Summarizing the above we see that the type of individual we are studying is unique in that it represents a new generation fitted into the standards of an older one. The restrictive influences of a perverting social environment upon the full play of the forces that make for Americanism are easily seen. Most apparent of all is the paradox attempted by the American of Italian extraction in seeking to retain the best and most representative of the old world culture of an older generation while striving to secure a full measure of the new.

CHAPTER IV

OCCUPATIONS

RELATION OF ITALIAN TO OTHER STOCKS IN AMERICAN INDUSTRIES—It was found that foreign-born laborers made up 58% of the total number of the labor force in American industries.* Of this the Italians form 7%.** Their children, or Americans of Italian extraction, in a representative study made by the Immigration Commission constituted but .3% of the total canvassed. It was found that while 22.5% of foreign-born laborers were so classified only 9.9% of their sons fell in the same category.† Compared with native-born Americans of foreign fathers from other countries the distribution of Americans born of Italian blood in American industries is as follows:‡

INDUSTRIAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT WAGE-EARNERS

General Nativity and Race	Total of 21 Industries
Native-born of foreign father:	
Germany	4.8
Ireland	4.6
England	2.1
Canada	1.9
Austria-Hungary	.9
Scotland	.6
Russia	.5
Wales	.4
Sweden	.3
Italy	.3
Netherlands	.2
France	.2
Switzerland	.1

DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIAN BLOOD IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES—Mangano says that three-quarters

* Lauck and Sydenstricker—"Condition of Labor in American Industries" p. 1.

** Ibid p. 4.

† Immigration Commission Abstract of Report on Occupations of the First and Second Generations of Immigrants in the United States, pp. 13-27.

‡ Jenks, J. W.—"The Immigration Problem" p. 516.

of the people of Italian blood who come here worked in the fields at home and that but 16% do similar work here. The remainder are employed chiefly in the country's silk mills, machine shops, subways, water-works, railroad-construction gangs, quarries and mines.* Lauck found that the largest number are employed in railroad and other construction work.** Coming from Italy the status of Italian immigrants for the last two decades was as follows:†

OCCUPATION OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS REPORTING EMPLOYMENT 1899-1910

People	No. Reporting Employment	PERCENT			
		Professional Occupations	Skilled Occupations	Laborers including Farm	Misc.
Italian, North	296,622	1.1	20.4	66.5	12.0
Italian, South	1,472,659	.4	14.6	77.0	7.9

Prof. Pecorini's study of the industrial distribution of Italians in the United States shows that one-fifth of those from the North of Italy and one-sixth from the South are skilled.‡

A distribution of such labor for 1914, the heaviest year of Italian immigration to this country shows up as follows:§

Group	NORTH ITALIAN	SOUTH ITALIAN
Professional	508	608
Skilled labor	6,073	22,606
Misc. occupations	2,079	165,205
No occupation	10,142	63,193

There is no way of telling what the wages of the different industrial groups according to racial lines in either New York City or elsewhere may be. Other immigrants from South-eastern Europe include Poles, Slavs, Hungarians, Austrians, etc., and all these are in-

* Mangano, Antonio—"Sons of Italy" p. 21.

** Lauck and Sydenstricker—"Conditions of Labor in American Industry" p. 4.

† Statistical Review of Immigration, p. 53.

‡ Pecorini, Alberto—"The Italian as an Agricultural Laborer," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 38—1909.

§ Reports of Commissioner-General of Immigration, p. 62 seq.

extricably intertwined with Italians in the city's and the nation's working population. The average weekly earnings of industrial workers of Italian blood according to sex and generation, are shown in the following table, viz;*

AVERAGE AMOUNT OF WEEKLY EARNINGS OF AMERICANS OF ITALIAN EXTRACTION AND ITALIANS 18 YEARS OR OVER

General Nativity and Race	Average for all Industries Male	Female
Native-born of foreign father:		
Italy	$10.61	$7.70
Foreign-born:		
Italian, North	11.28	7.31
Italian, South	9.61	6.64
Italian, not specified	12.64	a

a Not computed, owing to small number involved.

DISTRIBUTION IN NEW YORK CITY—The exhaustive inquiry into the racial composition of America's industrial army conducted by the United States Immigration Commission some years ago found that Americans of foreign fathers constitute 17% of this country's total working force. Just how much of this includes Americans of Italian extraction in New York City is impossible to determine. Different proportions hold for the adult Italian and for his children. Of the former 82% are industrially employed; for his children no adequate figures are available. Prof. Ogburn found that in New York City 7.5% of its entire children were gainfully employed in industry in 1910. If this rate held true for children of Italian blood, and unquestionably it does, then fully 30,000 Americans of Italian origin are industrially employed.**

In New York City it is safe to say that the Italian predominates in the Street Cleaning Department, subway construction work, barber shops and building trades. It is impossible to predicate a distribution of their descendants because as yet the vast majority have not attained the years and maturity necessary to their be-

* Jenks, J. W.—"The Immigration Problem" p. 521 seq.

** Ogburn, W. F.—"A Statistical Study of American Cities" Reed College Record, No. 27, Portland Oregon, Dec. 1917.

coming "set" or "adjusted;" thus we cannot assign them a place in the industrial and commercial world. The few that have gone out before represent but an infinitesimal portion of the Italian blood in this greatest Italian center in the world. The chances are that when this chapter comes to be written it will differ markedly from the situation as it exists today among the adult ancestor. This is to be expected because of the marked disparity in the percentages of the industrially employed Americans of Italian extraction and Italians proper, as was shown in the preceding diagrams.

Most conclusive of all, however, is the marked differences in the occupations chosen by the Italian and the American of Italian extraction as shown in the Report of the Immigration Commission. The very notable advance is made in the rank of clerks and copyists from twenty-fourth place in the first generation to fourth in the second; and of salesmen from twenty-first in the first generation to sixth place in the second.*

By far the greatest majority of these industrial workers are crowded in the lower part of Manhattan as is shown in the following diagram:**

DISTRIBUTION OF ITALIANS AND RESIDENCES OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN LOWER MANHATTAN

Sex	Proportion of total workers living in Manhattan below 14 St.	Manhattan above 14 St.	Other boroughs	Jersey
Male	61.7	14.4	21.3	2.6
Female	75.7	8.5	10.5	5.3

WHAT THE "NEW" GENERATION HOPES FOR—Miss Brandt tried an experiment some years ago, going down to the large Italian School at Mulberry Bend Park and asking the children there what they would like to do for a living. She says, "The most striking manifestation of the American spirit was disclosed in the economic aspirations of the children i. e. Americans of Italian extraction. The ambition which in Italy would have

* Occupation of the Immigrant—Vol. 65, p. 173.

** Pratt, E. E., "Causes of Industrial Congestion in New York City" pp. 138-140.

been dormant is aroused in America by the all pervasive idea of 'getting ahead.' It is the exception if the son of the immigrant who works at the shovel or goes out with the hod, grows up to use the same tool."† Of the 150 children of whom the question "What are you going to be, or what do you prefer doing for a living," was asked, the following were the answers received:

BOYS (66)	GIRLS (77)
4—undecided	47—dressmakers
10—chose father's calling	13—teachers
2—not indicated in any way	
49—vocation different from father	

NOTE: Of the 49 who chose vocations different from that of their father's, the following occupations were noted in order of greatest frequency—physician, lawyer, musician, painter, writer of books, teacher, sculptor, policeman, fireman, and saloon keeper.

Dr. Van Denburg* put practically the same question "What do you expect to do for a living" to 211 boys and 278 girls in the public high schools of this city and got the following results: Of the 211 boys who expressed a choice, the occupations chosen were

Vocation	Number Pupils	Approximate Percent
Architect	7	3.3
Business	36	17.0
Electrician	9	4.2
Civil Engineer	39	18.4
Electrical Engineer	27	12.7
Mechanical Engineer	5	2.3
Law	24	11.4
Medicine	7	3.3
Msce. Trades	8	3.7
Msce. Construction	14	6.6
Teacher	11	5.2
Engineer	5	2.3
Scattering	19	9.0
TOTAL	211	100.0

† Brandt, Lillian—"A Transplanted Birthright" The Development of the Second Generation of Italians in an American Environment, Charities, 1904.

* Van Denburg, Dr. J.—"Causes of Retardation and Elimination in our City Schools" Columbia University, Studies in Education, Teachers College Record, p. 49.

The girl's choices were expressed as follows:

Vocation	Number Pupils	Approximate Percent
Bookkeeper	9	3.2
Designer	6	2.1
Dressmaker	7	2.5
Musician	7	12.5
Stenographer	46	16.9
Teacher in Public School..	167	60.0
Teacher	12	4.3
Scattering	24	8.6
TOTAL	278	100.0

The same experiment as conducted by Miss Brandt was repeated at the Italian School by the writer with the following results:

BOYS (81)

Vocation	Number
Mechanic	17
Stenographer	6
Soldier	6
Sailor	6
Printer	6
Carpenter	5
Engineer	4
Civil Engineer	4
Machinist	4
Truckman	4
Doctor	3
Shipping Clerk	3
Lawyer	3
Professor	3
Telephone operator	2
Chauffeur	2
Fireman	1
Artist	1
Musician	1

GIRLS (78)

Vocation	Number
Dressmaker	31
Operator on machines	21
Typists	8
Teacher	8
Embroiderer	4
Doll maker	2
Music teacher	1
Glove maker	1
Pianist	1
Housekeeper	1

These figures all show beyond peradventure of doubt the Americanizing influences going on rapidly apace among the Italian element in the life of our city. It also tends to show that the day is passing when most of the physical work, such as digging, building, and heavy construction work is to be done chiefly by our Italian element. The growing generation of Italian origin changes markedly in his desires, aspirations and ambitions for the future from his parents, as the figures show. Of those already sufficiently advanced to show what choices are actually being made the profession of medicine seems most popular. This is followed by law and lastly by teaching. For the girls, no adequate indices exist that warrant us making any statement.

CHAPTER V

HEALTH

INTRODUCTION—The American of Italian extraction is descended from a race that is noted for its robustness and vitality. Years of labor in the sunny fields of Italy, a life almost continuously out of doors, have served to enrich the Italian with a native physical constitution and endowed him with a fund of rugged health that stands him in good stead. This fact alone has made possible his standing up under the severe strain and stress to which his physical constitution is subjected in doing such work as digging tunnels, erecting sky-scrapers, and building railroads. With his children however, the case is different. An unusually high, in fact the highest mortality rate for first generation of Americans of all descents obtains among the offspring of the Italian. With respect to tuberculosis, the disease that is most ravishing and takes the highest toll, Dr. Stella, who has made specific and detailed studies of Italian sections in New York City, says, "If we are to accept the principle of health, that a density greater than 25 persons per acre and an aggregation greater than 2 people per room which does not allow at least 85 cm. of air per person, is bad for both the social well being and the individual health, we must immediately conclude that the homes in which the Americans of Italian extraction live are absolutely responsible for their acquired susceptibility to tuberculosis."* Other authors in attempting to explain the high death rate among Italians, have mistakenly had recourse to the facts of diet as the entire cause for this high mortality rate. Jones, for instance believes that, "The necessity for a different food from that to which he has been accustomed is not understood at first. Italians learn to eat the proper amount of meat only after they have been here some time and find themselves unable to cope with the conditions of labor and

*Stella, Antonio—"La Lotta contra la Tuberculosis fra gli Italiani nella Citta di New York", p. 48.

of weather to which they are subjected. The high death rate among them is totally due to a diet too exclusively vegetable to supply the necessary nutrition."*

The authors of "The Tenement House Problem" also conclude that, "The generally high death rate of the Italian race is due to the fact that they are unable to adapt their diet to our climate and live upon a kind of food, adequate for the South of Italy, but totally inadequate for New York City."** In this the authors fail to keep apart the problem of the Italian and that of the American of Italian extraction. The two problems from the standpoint of health are as different as are the individuals concerned. It is patent that in the case of the American of Italian extraction who has not known for at least the first twenty years of his life, the frugal cereal diet of his father, the problem of dietary readjustment is of less concern than that of congestion, overcrowding and filthy rooms, inadequate ventilation, lack of sanitary appliances, and absence of fresh air and sunlight. It is these latter causes that have given the American of Italian extraction the highest mortality rate of any descendants of any immigrant stocks in our city, and have made for the "heightened susceptibility" to disease of which Dr. Stella speaks.

VITAL STATISTICS—Comparing the death rate for foreign-born children with the children of native stock, it is impossible to determine for the racial stock that we are studying, figures that apply directly in this connection. An investigation conducted some years ago on an extensive scale in New York City among school children will point out what undoubtedly in a general way exists among this particular type, excepting that conditions on the whole are constantly being bettered.

Taking the entire city, it was found that about two-thirds of the children examined in the public schools several years ago were physically defective. The specific causes found were mal-nutrition, present in 12.9% of the defective children; 79% with bad teeth that needed treatment; 45% suffered from throat trouble; 47% with

* Jones, T. J.—"Sociology of a City Block", p. 72.

** De Forest and Veillier—"The Tenement House Problem", p. 294.

nose trouble; and 70% suffered from enlarged glands. In round numbers, the conditions found in New York City showed that 41,600 children were insufficiently fed, and that almost 300,000 had bad teeth.*

Among the higher ages, correspondingly high figures for New York City were obtained. For the whole country during the war more than 50% of our young men were rejected on account of physical unfitness out of which city boys contributed 28.47% in New York City.** At many recruiting stations 80% out of 100% recruits who presented themselves, were frequently found unfit. Out of a group of 80 volunteers only 8 could stand the preliminary examinations.† Dr. Ayres' investigation of 3,304 New York City children, found only 919 to be without defects.‡

Data from the office of the Italian Consulate for a representative year showed that out of 11,396 men about 20 years of age examined for military service, 3,921 were rejected and only 7,475 accepted. In Italy the percentage of rejections varied from 15% to 22%; in New York City, for the same stock the percentage jumped from 30% to 35%.

In the only study of its kind made in New York City bearing directly on the type in question here, we are able to present some data regarding the extremely high mortality rate prevalent. Dr. Stella, President of the Roman Legion of America who made this study says, "thru the courtesy of Dr. Guilfoy, Registrar of Vital Statistics and who personally checked the figures herein cited, and to whom I desire publicly to express my gratitude, I am able to present some very interesting data regarding Italian children in certain blocks in New York

* American Statistical Association, Vol. X, p. 30. Frederick Hoffman, "The General Death Rate of Large American Cities." (It is added by the author that the term "foreign-born" is seriously misleading if the various nationalities are considered in the aggregate for there are wide differences in the mortality and disease liability of the different nationalities.)

** Evening Mail Editorial, July 10, 1918, Dr. Maximillan P. E. Groszmann.

† Rumely, Dr. E. A., Evening Mail, July 6, 1918.

‡ Ayres, Leonard P.—"Laggards in our City Schools," p. 124.

City, classified according to ages and kinds of sickness. This is the first time that such a study has been made with respect to age and nationality in Manhattan and the results are extremely instructive."*

The studies conducted by Dr. Stella are particularly valuable because they represent actual conditions. What he did was to make a first-hand investigation or a health-assay as it were, of specific localities. His data represent concrete facts painstakingly gathered and carefully analyzed. As he himself puts it "it was a study of the particular conditions and habits, in short of the whole life of that population which is crowded in blocks below East 112th Street, between First and Second Avenues, and of Block X, East Houston, Prince, Elizabeth and Mott Streets. The conditions found afford graphic evidence illustrating the effects of over-crowding. I have picked for the study ten blocks afterwards described because they contained a representative number of tenement houses in various parts of the city among those most populated and which were at the same time inhabited by Italians."**

The results of his investigations are amazing.

According to the original data carefully collected from certain typical blocks, it was found as can be seen in the following tables that the general mortality for New York City when this study was made was 18.35 per 1000 population and for children below 5 years of age, 51.5 per 1000. On the other hand contrasted to these figures the data for 6 typical Italian blocks gave the following astonishing results:

AVERAGE ITALIAN MORTALITY (For 1000 Inhabitants)

Block (isolated)	A.....24.5	Below 5 years of age	.....87.03
"	B.....24.9	"	.....92.2
"	C.....22.4	"	.....81.6
"	D.....22.5	"	.....74.7
"	E.....22.3	"	.....83.1
"	F.....23.2	"	.....59.5

* Stella, Antonio; La Lotta Contro La Tubercolosi fra gli Italiani nella Citta di New York, ed Effetti dell' Urbanismo. (The struggle against tuberculosis among Italians in New York City and the effects of city life.)

** The quotations below are translations by the writer from Dr. Stella's work cited above.

AVERAGE MORTALITY FOR RESPIRATORY DISEASES

For the entire city (per 1000 pop.).....12.7
Rate for Italian blocks (below 5 years):

Block A	32.9	Block D	28.6
" B	47.8	" E	49.0
" C	35.3	" F	17.8

AVERAGE MORTALITY FOR INFANTILE DIARRHEA

Average mortality for the entire city (per 1000 pop.).....12.9
Average mortality for Italian blocks:

Block A	22.3	Block D	13.8
" B	19.1	" E	19.3
" C	17.6	" F	14.9

GENERAL MORTALITY FOR DIPHTHERIA

Mortality for entire city (per 100 inhabitants).....2.8
Average mortality for Italian blocks:

Block A	4.34	Block D	8.93
" B	3.71	" E	3.20
" C	4.61	" F	

These figures speak for themselves. Dr. Guilfoy, Registrar of Vital Statistics for the New York City Department of Health, in reviewing them calls it "an astonishing condition heretofore unheard of, for the rate of mortality presented by these above figures was over 2½ times that among American boys and girls." He has himself recently collected the same data though for all nationalities and brought them down, up to date, in an excellent little monograph.* In this little brochure Dr. Guilfoy shows where the rugged constitutions of the Italian parent operate to have a favorable showing for the Italian stock when compared to the native American stock.** These figures hold for children under 1 year of age:

BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN—1915
INFANT MORTALITY ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY OF MOTHER FROM CONGENITAL DISEASES PER 10,000 BIRTHS RECORDED

Country	Total births reported	Deaths	Total congenital diseases	Rate
United States	17,210	81	937	544
Italy	14,946	53	442	295

* Guilfoy, Dr. Wm. H.—"The influence of Nationality upon the Mortality of a Community" (with special references to the City of New York) Monograph Series No. 11, Dept. of Health, Nov. 1917.

** Ibid. p. 11.

These figures show to the great disadvantage of the native or American population. As the Italian lengthens his stay here however, environment begins to tell. In considering the mortality of children up to five years of age according to the nationality of the mother, the highest mortality was found among the Italian children where 425 out of every 10,000 children of Italian mothers died during the year 1915. Taking the mortality figures for particular diseases we note the following: for infectious diseases the children of Italian parents show the highest mortality or 381 per 10,000 births as compared to 259 for children of native stock in 1915; for respiratory diseases their preeminence is established again with 176 deaths as over against 97 for every 10,000 births of native stock, or what is more than 3½ times that of children of German mothers, almost 3 times that of children of Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Irish mothers and a little less than double that of American mothers.*

HEALTH AGENCIES—There are two chief agencies that look after the health of these people, (1) The Italian Colony and (2) The New York City Health Department. Because the work of the latter is in no way different among these people from that which obtains among other city dwellers only the first agency is dealt with here.

The work of the Italian health agencies in this city, however, need not detain us long. Mangano says:** "There are numerous special efforts made to reach the Italian stock, yet it is a lamentable fact that few institutions exist as a direct result of Italian initiative." There are no Mt. Sinai's in the Italian colony. The two chief reasons for this are (1) the lack of a moneyed class among the Italian-speaking people, (2) the comparatively low percentage of medically employed Americans of Italian extraction in New York City who are in a position to point out to the public particular conditions, and put into effect possible remedies.

Columbus Hospital is the oldest Italian health agency

* Dr. Guilfoy, p. 13 seq.

** Mangano—"Sons of Italy" p. 136.

in the city. It is located on 20th Street, between Second and Third Avenues, and was organized in 1892. Its supervision is under the order of the Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart. Columbus Hospital has no endowment, and depends entirely for support on the work of the Sisters of this Order. Although it is generally known as an Italian institution, yet figures for some years back show that of the 21 doctors on the staff, not one was Italian. The Sisters, who are responsible for the continuance of this institution though, are all native Italians; of the patients, fully 95% are of Italian blood.

The one public enterprise that has had the backing and support of Italians in New York City is the Italian Hospital on E. 84th Street.* The wealthy silk manufacturer Celestino Piva has made this his particular "hobby" and an annual reception is given under his direction, the proceeds of which go toward the maintenance of this institution. In this way thousands of dollars are collected. The Italian Hospital, while not a large hospital, is thoroughly up-to-date, with modern equipment, and does a very effective work.

The Washington Square Hospital in Washington Park was started some years ago by Dr. Carlo Savini. Dr. Savini is one of the best Italian surgeons here and his hospital is as efficiently managed as is any modern high class private institution. Dr. Savini has attracted to him not only Italian-speaking people, but many of other descents in this city.

Notwithstanding the rather dark picture of conditions in the Italian districts above painted, the Tenement House Department declares that the tenements in the Italian quarter are much cleaner than those in the Jewish or the Irish quarters. The writer believes that there is very little to choose from any one of these three that would, in any great way, be different today, though in the early days going back as far as 1842, in his first annual report for the Health Department, Dr. Griscom described unhygienic conditions, dirt, and gave mortality

*The president of this institution is the well known and popular Dr. John W. Perrilli, who not long ago was appointed by Mayor Hylan a Trustee of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals.

figures among the Irish of that day that were very much worse around Cherry Hill, Crosby Street and the Five Points section, than are those which exist today in the worst Italian blocks.

There is no doubt that the values in Italian quarters have risen immensely and that this is not entirely due to the unprecedent rise in New York City real estate values. Mangano says that "Fifteen years ago before the Italian influx, twenty-five foot tenements were worth $10,000 to $15,000. They are now worth $40,000." How much of this is due to the fact that Italians make desirable neighbors, and how much to the natural increase in values it is of course impossible to say. Both obtain. Education and municipal attention to the problem of health is doing much to better the health standards of this group and increase the value of the quarters they occupy. The Charity Organization Society conducts in greater New York under the authority of the City Health Department an Italian Bureau, and furnishes the latest knowledge in preventive measures. By means of lectures, slides, literature, and practical demonstrations, an effective campaign is being constantly waged against that most insidious foe—ignorance.

CHAPTER VI

STANDARD OF LIVING

INTRODUCTION—The "Standard of Living" is a phrase that has been variously defined. Streighthoff says that "the standard of living consists of what men actually enjoy."* Chapin, in a study bearing directly on conditions in New York City holds that the problem of the standard of living presents both an absolute and a relative aspect, namely (1) "a reliable presentation of actual data for a given time, place, and class" and (2) "a comparison with the standards of different times, places, and classes."** Morimoto in the most recent study on this subject says that "the standard of living is the controlling element in economic activities."† Franklin H. Giddings says "the commodities that a laboring class consumes are not its standard of living. They are merely an index of its standard. The real standard of living is a certain conception of economic life which regulates beliefs and new ideas in varying proportions and changes as these factors change."‡

It may seem strange that in studying Americans of Italian extraction we should concern ourselves with sociological data that are preeminently Italian. This follows though necessarily from the fact that the first and even the second generations of Americans of Italian blood are never absolutely removed from the influences and physical environment of the Italian parent. For twenty years, and more in very many cases, the American of Italian extraction has been under the shaping influences of a home that in many cases is more Italian than American. §

* Streighthoff, F. H. "The Standard of Living" p. 2ff.

** Chapin, R. C. "The Standard of Living Among Workingmen's Families in New York City" passim.

† Morimoto Kokichi, "Standard of Living in Japan, John Hopkins Univ. Studies," 1918. p. 11.

‡ Giddings, Franklin H. "Descriptive and Historical Sociology". p. 253.

§ See explanation, supra, p. 29.

The degree of saturation with foreign culture varies. There is a constant change and shifting in the influence and importance of home life upon the American of Italian extraction rising directly from the fact that he is getting older and thinks for himself, and secondly, because the parents themselves are slowly but surely becoming changed.

In times like these it is difficult to get any data concerning family budgets and living expenses that the next few years will not see materially changed. It is a question whether any of the past studies will hold to the same relative degree because of these shifting standards due to the war. How different conditions are from what they were a year ago can be seen in a little report* made by a special committee appointed to investigate increased living costs. The findings of this committee show an increase of 85% in food and clothing prices alone. An investigation carried on among families of limited means in Boston showed similar results. In this latter instance of the 200 families studied which included seventeen nationalities, one-fourth were Italians. The average income of each family was shown to be somewhere between $15-$19 a week.** In New York City a group of 377 families, a majority of which were exactly the type that we are studying according to the investigation made by the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor showed that increased living costs had mounted to 26% or that "the wage earner's dollar of January, 1918 had slightly less than four-fifths the purchasing power of the wage earner's dollar of 1917."†

That the whole general stratum of living costs in relation to wages has been upset by war times can be readily seen when we consider that Federal statistics show the increase in the cost of living to be about twice

* Bankers Trust Company Report on Increased Living Costs, 1917.

** League for Preventive Work—Food Supply in Families of Limited Means, Michael M. Davis, Jr., Boston, 1917.

† Winslow, "My Money Won't Reach" Committee on Home Economics, Charity Organization Society, April, 1918.

as great in relative percentages as the increase in wages.*

Perhaps as good an impression of the way wages have changed within the last few years can be gathered from a copy of the "Report of the Committee on War Finance of the American Economic Association" given to the writer by its chairman Prof. E. R. A. Seligman. The committee in summarizing the data of wage changes for different sections of the country shows "that the average increase of laboring men's wages from 1913-1918 was somewhere between 40-50%."** In some districts wages advanced from 40-70% but in very many others, wages such as those of bakers, hod carriers, bricklayers, plasterers, etc., increased but 20%. This same committee's report on price changes show the average advance "of 75% from 1913-1917 and of 92% to 1918

* The index number for the relative prices of food alone in the United States prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows an average increase from 1913-1917 of 46% whereas wages have risen less rapidly. Dr. Kemmerer through the courtesy of Dr. Royal Meeker, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics was able to give in advance figures regarding the Bureaus recently compiled index numbers covering rates of wages per hour for union labor in a large number of occupations throughout the United States. The official figures are given in column 1 of the following table, and the same figures adjusted to the basis of the average for the period 1910-1914 as 100 are given in column 2. (See American Economic Review, Vol. 7, June 1918, p. 265.)

INDEX NUMBERS OF UNION WAGE RATES

Year	1	2
1910	105	96
1911	107	98
1912	109	100
1913	111	102
1914	114	105
1915	115	106
1916	119	109
1917	127	117

This shows an increase of 14% in Union wages since 1914, as compared to 75% increase in wholesale prices and 46% increase in the retail prices of food.

** Report of the Committee of War Finance, Amer. Economic Association, p. 106.

for wholesale prices;"* for retail price changes the committee quotes the average increase of 70% given out by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the 77% increase for clothing; 45% for fuel and light and 15% for rents—quoted by National Industrial Conference Board.**

The most thorough study of conditions representing the standard of living in New York City was made by Chapin in 1909. Three hundred ninety-one families were studied, of which sixty-nine were Italian—a number that was surpassed only by the American and the Russian groups. It can be assumed therefore that the Italian families studied are fairly representative of the type to be met anywhere in the Italian colonies in the greater city. Of the sixty-nine Italian families investigated, fifty-seven showed that they possessed annual incomes between $600 and $1100, while the average number of persons per family was five.†

INCOMES—There are three chief sources of income in the home of which the American of Italian extraction forms a part. They are (1) the adult breadwinner (2) boarders, (3) the work or labor of this type of American himself. The adult breadwinner includes both male and female workers. An investigation made by the Immigration Commission revealed the fact that of the women of Southern Italian families studied, two-thirds reported average earnings of less than $200. The writer is inclined to think this amount too small because as a rule the immigrant worker is suspicious and distrustful about making disclosures of this sort. Among the men the average yearly wage for the 2000 cases studied was found to be between $500 and $600. Another source of income as shown by its prevalence among the poorer Italian homes is the lodger or boarder. Here though the Italian family has a low average compared with

* Report of the Committee on War Finance, American Economic Association, p. 104.

** Wartime Changes in the Cost of Living, Research Report No. 9, Aug. 1918, p. 64.

† In a study of 200 workingmen's families in New York City, Mrs. L. B. More found 6 persons to be the average. (Wage-earners Budgets—L. B. More.)

other races. Lauck found that excepting for the Hebrew and Bulgarians, the Southern Italian ranked well up with an average of but 33.5% of householders keeping boarders or lodgers. The Serbian family was highest with an average percentage of 92.8% and was followed closely by the Roumanians with 77.8% respectively.*

In a study of over 2000 households these figures were largely substantiated in the following:**

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS KEEPING BOARDERS AND LODGERS

General nativity and race of head of household	Total number of households	Households keeping lodgers or boarders	
		Number	Percent
Italian. North	653	223	34.2
Italian, South	1530	512	35.5

The third and last chief source of income in the Italian household occurs when the American of Italian extraction himself is made to go out and help support the family. If this is ever at all necessary it usually begins at an early age and is one of the greatest handicaps in the development of this type.

The chief channels open to children of fourteen to eighteen are usually the making of artificial flowers, working on garments for girls, machine operating, running errands, shoeblacking, truckdriving, office work and other blind alleys for the boys. Divided among male and female it was found that 9.9% of males and 7.3% females of these foreign-born children between the ages of six and sixteen were at work. For the male this is but 2% higher than the average of all nationalities of children in New York City gainfully employed as found by Prof. Ogburn.*** The percentage of females so employed is normal when compared with other nationalities.

An age distribution of over 500 Americans of Italian extraction found doing work in their tenement homes

* Lauck and Sydenstricker, "Conditions of Labor in American Industries," p. 299.

** Jenks and Lauck, "The Immigration Problem," p. 506.

***op. cit. p. 33.

by Dr. Stella while making his investigations is the following:

CHILDREN FOUND AT WORK IN TENEMENTS

Number	AGES												
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14-16	T't'l
Children found at work	1	3	21	23	44	45	76	71	62	90	76	46	558
Boys		1	4	8	10	14	26	15	21	26	19	8	152
Girls	1	2	17	15	34	31		56	41	64	57	38	406
Attending school			12	16	41	43	70	68	59	82	67	33	491
Not Attending school	1	3	9	7	3	2	6	3	3	8	9	13	67

In this matter of child labor it was found in the investigation made by the Immigration Commission that the lowest percentage fell to the Italians, namely 13.3%. The Germans pressed closely after with 13.9%, and the Syrian and Scotch were highest with 22.6% and 19% respectively.*

Of 184 cases of Americans of Italian extraction between the ages of fourteen and eighteen studied by the Immigration Commission, it was found that the weekly wage averaged $6.14 for the boys and $5.54 for the girls.**

A similar investigation conducted among workingmen's families in Buffalo contained one-fourth of Italian families. In 29% the mother's earnings added to the income, and the number of cases were fairly evenly distributed among the different races with one exception. The exception was in the Italian families where only one mother was reported as adding to the income.***

In New York City the comparisons afforded in Chapin's study of different nationalities with respect to their sources of income "show that the greatest dependence on other sources than the father's wages is found among the Bohemians, Austrians, and Russians."† The Italians rank better than the average with almost 51% of families supported entirely by the father—leading all the other racial stocks of the "newer immigration." This is a substantial verification of the responses that the symposium

* Report of Immigration Commission on Manufacturing and Mining, Abstract, pp. 194-195.

** Jenks—"The Immigration Problem" pp. 534-535.

*** Report on The Standard of Living Among Working Families in Buffalo.

† Chapin, R. C., Standard of Living in New York City, p. 59.

in Chapter XXV brought out in showing that 18% of the contributors attest to the quality or trait of industriousness as being a marked characteristic of the Italian people.

HOUSING—Of the 3,437,202 people living in New York City at the time the Tenement House Commission made its investigation 2,372,079 people were occupying 82,652 tenement houses where there were 350,000 dark interior rooms.‡ Conditions therefore that we shall describe among Italians are GENERAL. An assay of one section will reflect truly the general conditions that exist in all of the Italian colonies scattered throughout the city. Dr. Laidlaw found the housing conditions of the Italian district he visited involving 9,353 tenement families living in 31,522 rooms, an average of 3.37 rooms per family. There were eleven blocks of the thirty-two he visited with 3,413 families resident without a bath-tub. In one of these blocks lived 628 families, mostly Italians.*

Chapin's investigation showed the average size of the families that constituted the type he investigated to be five, and the average income anywhere from $600-$1000. Of this sum $144 or 18% must be paid for rent. Compared with conditions in Chicago among Italians we see that things are worse here. In Chicago** the medium rental for a four room apartment was $12.00 to $12.50 paid by Italians. This is higher than what is paid by any other race and is a condition that is general among Italians for less than 15% of such families own their own homes. The average number of rooms per apartment was found to be 3.64.† The average number of occupants per sleeping rooms was 1.42 as compared to .93 of native-born white of native father. In New York City no existing investigation is available that has featured housing expenditures according to nationalities. Chapin with reference to his own labors states that the

‡ DeForest and Veillier—"Tenement House Problem" Vol. 1, p. 3.

* Federation, Sociological canvass of the fourteenth district (assembly) of the lower east side, June 1900, p. 231.

** Walker—"Greeks and Italians in the Neighborhood of Hull House."

† Fairchild—"Immigration" p. 136.

number of cases is too small to warrant very confident assertion. What meagre data were obtainable showed that the Italians ranked lowest with an average of 2.6 for incomes at $600 and 3.9 for incomes at $900.§

In the matter of crowding the Italians showed up again badly viz:*

Nationality	Total number of families	Number reporting more than 1½ persons per room	Percent
U. S.	67	20	30
Teutonic	39	8	21
Irish	24	12	50
Colored	28	16	57
Bohemian	14	11	79
Russian	57	35	61
Austrian, etc.	32	21	66
Italian	57	37	65
	318	160	

Jones corroborates these findings, discovering 120 families housed within 14 buildings and numbering almost 900 people. Supporting these are the figures of Dr. Laidlaw who also discovered the Italians at the top in this deplorable characteristic with 13.3% of their families housed in one room. In a study of 76 families out of 11,546 in New York City where overcrowding was found, the Italian distribution showed up as follows:**

Number of families	Number of persons	Number of rooms	Italian nationality
33	6	3	4
14	8	4	3
11	9	4	2
11	7	3	1
1	10	4	1
7	8	3	1
1	6	2	1
76	54	23	13

The Italians in this investigation lead with 13.3% of overcrowding. The Americans are lowest with but .2%.

SAVINGS AND THRIFT—Of the families studied by

§ Chapin—"Standard of Living in New York City" p. 77.

* Chapin—"Standard of Living in New York City," p. 81.

** Federation. Report of Auxiliary D, Third Sociological Canvass, p. 60.

See Mrs. L. B. More's investigation of 2200 workingmen's families in New York City, Wage-earners Budgets, p. 67.

Chapin in New York City, the largest percentage reporting a surplus fell to the Italians, viz:*

Nationality of Families	Total Number	TOTAL Balance within $25		Surplus		Deficit	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
U. S.	67	27	40	15	23	25	37
Teutonic	39	21	54	9	23	9	23
Irish	24	9	38	7	29	8	33
Colored	28	9	32	7	25	12	43
Bohemian	14	12	86			2	14
Russian	57	11	19	29	51	17	30
Austrian, etc.	32	13	41	16	50	3	9
Italian	57	14	25	33	58	10	17
TOTAL	318	116	36.5	116	36.5	86	27

How much of this is due purely to thrift, industry, and savings, and how much because this type is satisfied to endure a lower standard of living is impossible to determine. Industry and thrift, as an overwhelming majority of the contributors to the symposium on page 252 prove, are innate traits of the Italian family. Regarding the second point, the matter of a lower standard of living Chapin reports a very favorable finding for the Italian viz:**

NUMBER OF FAMILIES BELOW STANDARD AS REGARDS FOOD, CLOTHING AND SHELTER

Nationality	No. Families	No. underfed and underclothed	No. underfed and overcrowded	No. underclothed and overcrowded	No. underfed, underclothed and overcrowded
U. S.	67	4	4	7	2
Teutonic	39	3	2	1	
Irish	24	1	2	6	1
Colored	28	3	5	8	
Bohemian	14		4	1	
Russian	57	14	18	14	10
Austrian	32	6	8	13	5
Italian	57	2	2	31	2
TOTAL	318	33	45	81	20

* Chapin—"Standard of Living in New York City," p. 235.
** Ibid, p. 240.

This thrift spirit of the Italians was by Chapin reported to have resulted in the largest proportion of families with savings viz:*

SAVINGS BY NATIONALITIES

Nationality	No. of families	Savings
United States	67	5
Teutonic	39	14
Irish	24	1
Colored	28	6
Bohemian	14	
Russian	57	19
Austrian	32	9
Italian	57	29
TOTAL	318	83

This same spirit has left its influence on New York City through the fact that of the real estate of New York City a conservative estimate is that $100,000,000 of such land is today owned by Italians or Americans of Italian extraction,** and this is proportionally not as much as is owned by this same type in St. Louis, Boston, San Francisco and elsewhere.

Lord says that the thrift of the Italian is so exceptional that even bootblacks and common laborers sometime figure as tenement owners. Italian barbers quite frequently acquire equities in tenements. There is further a rising disposition of the more wealthy merchants and fruiterers to invest their earnings in tenements in the Italian quarters.† This is born out by G. Tosti, a real estate dealer who says that whereas twenty years ago there was hardly an Italian real estate owner, today one is able to list over 800 in this city alone.

The war brought forth in a most marked way their spirit of saving. In Brooklyn the Italians have organized very effectively under the leadership of F. P. Buonora and enrolled in the aggregate fully one-third of all the Italians in Brooklyn for the purpose of "saving" through the purchase of War Saving Stamps. Over 200

* Chapin—"Standard of Living in New York City," p. 243.

** Sartorio, Henry—"Social and Religious Life of Italians in America," p. 20.

† Lord, Trenor and Barrows—"The Italian in America," p. 77.

societies were banded together and more than $100,000 was collected. The best record however that comes to light in this connection is that made by the people of Italian blood in the north-end district in Boston. Their thrift netted them $300,000 for war-savings and thrift stamps alone, and to them was awarded a silver cup and banner for having made the largest percentage of gains in the sales of War Saving Stamps for Suffolk County. The Hanover Street Postal Station under the able leadership of Lawrence A. Brignati ranked third in the country in the amount received in postal savings, having on deposit about $100,000,000, of which about 85% is to be credited to Italians and their offspring.* In this city the latest reports show Italian blood here to have invested $20,000,000 in the last Liberty Loan. The savings banks of New York City show that $24,000,000 is credited to them.

The Italian Savings Bank at 64 Spring Street is the largest bank of its kind in this city, having a total of deposits amounting to $7,769,064 and a surplus of $453,622. Perhaps the bulk of savings owned by Italian speaking people not only of this city but for the country at large is in the hands of private bankers. Lionello Perera, 69 Wall Street, probably is the largest and most influential Italian private banker in this city, having a working capital of almost half a million. M. Berardini, owner of the M. Berardini State Bank at 34 Mulberry Street is perhaps next with a capital and working surplus amounting to three-quarters of a million. Others to be mentioned in this connection are the Banca Tocci, Sessa, Verrilli, Prisco and Avalona.

Italian finance in this city is represented by four institutions. The Banca Commerciale with a capital of twenty-five million is of continental fame. The Credito Italiano is represented in this city by Felice Bava, 66 Broadway. The Banco di Napoli is the oldest Italian bank and is capitalized at one hundred and eighteen million lire. Its offices are at Spring and Lafayette Streets.

Two important features pertaining to Italian finance

* Boston Chamber of Commerce—Current Affairs, July 15, 1918, p. 7.

in this city are of recent date. One is the purchase by the Banca Commerciale of the Lincoln Trust Company. The 100,000 shares of this stock were purchased at $80 above their par value. The other is the opening of the new Banca Italiana di Sconto with a working capital of half a million and jointly controlled by the Guaranty Trust and the Italian Discount and Trust Company. These two features Luigi Criscuolo believes to be "undoubtedly part of a plan whereby commercial credits between Italy and American business concerns can be facilitated."* The East River National Bank is an Italian owned bank. The names of Giannini and Granata stand out in this connection.

* Luigi Criscuolo, former secretary of the Advisory Finance Committee, United States Railroad Administration; Il Carroccio, Jan. 1919, p. 68.

CHAPTER VII.

LITERACY

THE "OLD" VERSUS THE "NEW" GENERATION —"Thanks to the excellent public schools of the United States and to the compulsory educational laws of many of our states, the question of illiteracy is not one of the greatest importance in the second generation."* With the immigrant however the case is different. The rate of synthetization of our racial stocks depends in the first instance upon the degree of literacy prevalent. The percentage of illiteracy varies greatly among immigrants of different countries. The following tables showing the different percentages of illiterates among Italians as compared with other immigrant stocks were compiled from the reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration and appeared in the Statistical Review of Immigration.

ILLITERACY OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS
1899—1910

	Immigrants 14 yrs. of age and over	Immigrant illiterates 14 yrs. of age and over	
People		Number	Percent
Jewish	806,786	209,507	26.0
Bohemian and Moravian	79,721	1,322	1.7
Croatian	320,977	115,785	36.1
English	347,348	3,648	1.0
Finnish	137,916	1,745	1.3
German	625,793	32,236	5.2
Greek	208,608	55,089	26.4
Irish	416,640	10,721	2.6
Italian, North	339,301	38,897	11.5
Italian, South	1,690,376	911,566	53.9
Lithuanian	161,441	79,001	48.9
Magyar	307,082	35,004	11.4
Polish	861,303	304,675	35.4
Ruthenian	140,705	76,165	53.4
Scandinavian	530,634	2,221	.4
Scotch	115,788	767	.7
Slovak	342,583	86,216	24.0
TOTAL	8,398,624	2,238,801	26.7

Illiteracy figures for the total immigration to the United States show that the Southern Italian leads,

*Jenks—"The Immigration Problem," p. 33.

being surpassed only by the Turk and the Portuguese. Looking at this question in the large, however, the authors quoted above conclude that too much emphasis must not be laid upon the question of illiteracy since this disadvantage in most cases disappears in the second generation, i. e. the type we are studying here. When we consider that in Italy 84% of the taxes are spent upon the national debt, upon the administration, and upon the national defense, leaving but 16% for other expenses, we can realize the financial predicament that faces the Italian there, for out of this 16%, only 2.79% may be spent upon education.

STATUS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AT LARGE —The School status of Americans of Italian extraction for the country at large as compared with other Americans was found by the Immigration Commission to be as follows: *

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN THE DIFFERENT GRADES OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY GENERAL NATIVITY AND RACE OF FATHER OF PUPIL

General nativity and Race of Father	Number of Cities	Kindergartens	Primary Grades	Grammar Grades	High School	Total
Native-born White	32	4.3	52.1	34.5	9.1	100.0
Foreign-born:						
Bohemian	10	4.2	61.4	32.5	1.9	100.0
Danish	7	2.4	49.8	42.6	5.1	100.0
Dutch	3	4.8	53.1	37.3	4.8	100.0
English	30	3.2	50.7	38.5	7.7	100.0
French	11	3.3	54.7	36.6	5.4	100.0
German	29	4.4	53.8	37.2	4.7	100.0
Hebrew, German	18	5.4	48.7	38.8	7.8	100.0
Hebrew, Russian	30	4.3	63.1	30.2	3.3	100.0
Irish	31	3.5	52.3	37.4	6.9	100.0
Italian, North	16	5.8	69.9	22.7	1.6	100.0
Italian, South	20	7.8	72.7	18.7	.8	100.0
Lithuanian	7	3.1	75.3	20.3	1.4	100.0
Magyar	5	7.6	62.6	26.4	8.4	100.0
Polish	17	5.8	72.6	20.0	1.6	100.0
Portuguese	5	1.0	79.6	18.9	.5	100.0
Russian	7	6.2	67.8	21.3	4.7	100.0

* Jenks—"The Immigration Problem," p. 306.

The report of the Immigration Commission on the school attendance of over 2,000,000 children of immigrant fathers brought out the fact that Americans of Italian blood ranked third in magnitude with a percentage of 6.4 of the whole, being outnumbered by the Jews and the Germans.*

IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS—We see by the foregoing that the Southern Italians have the very low percentage of .8% of their children in the High Schools. This is accounted for in large part by the fact that the vast majority of the descendants of Italian immigrants have not yet reached the average age of pupils eligible to enter High School i. e. 14 years. The other chief contributory fact is the very low economic status of the average Italian family that makes impossible a continued stay of any great length for their children.

IN THE PRIMARY GRADES—In the primary grades the percentage of pupils of Italian blood attending jumps to 72.7%, a figure exceeded but by two other racial stocks whose numbers in proportion are incomparably smaller; in the kindergarten the percentage is 78 % and is the highest. The only lesson these figures offer is the stressing of the comparative recency of Italian immigration as a movement "en masse."

RETARDATION AT LARGE—More significant than mere numbers of school attendance though is the condition of affairs regarding retardation or the percentage of pupils of a race older than the normal age for that grade, and the reason for that abnormality. It was assumed in the instance of the study made throughout the entire country by the Immigration Commission covering thousands of cases of descendents of immigrants of all stocks, that seven years was the normal age for the first grade, eleven for the fifth, and fourteen for the eighth. It was found that the average retardation for all foreign-born races was 36%, a scant margin above the 34.1% representing the average for all white children of native stock.**

Different races, tho, show marked fluctuations and the type under surveillence here achieved the unenviable pre-

* Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vols. 29-33.
** Jenks and Lauck, "The Immigration Problem," p. 308.

eminence with 48.6% followed closely by the Poles and French-Canadians with 48.1% and 43.1% respectively. The Finns made the best showing with but 27.7% of retardation. If one were to go into the details beyond the data disclosed, he would get some interesting information.* A study of 46,846 pupils of the types above mentioned was made and marked differences were found between those whose foreign-born fathers could, and those who could not speak English. In the case of the German pupils whose fathers spoke English, 31.7% were retarded; of those whose fathers did not, 40.6% were retarded.† The Americans of Italian extraction showed 59.2% of retardation for those who came from homes where English was spoken and 72.7% where it was not.‡

Similarly with respect to whether or not English is spoken at home; of the Germans early in migration to this country, 30.4% are retarded where English is spoken and 37.4% where it is not; the American of Italian extraction had 56% of retardation where English is spoken at home and 67.3% where it is not.§

A very bad showing though for this type is to be had when we consider retardation as existing between those who attend school regularly and those who do not. It was shown that with pupils of eight years or more who attended school three-fourths or more of the time, the degree of retardation for the children of native-born whites was 26.2%; where they attended less than three-fourths of the time this percent rose to 43.9%. Of the Americans of Italian extraction the percentage of those in the first instance was found to be 56%, and in the latter 85.6%. Here again Jenks adds "the fact that

* In extenuation of the above figures, the authors making the study add that altho opinions were asked of the teachers as to the excuses for retardation, the answers were not definite enough to be tabulated. The figures show tho, that inability of the father to speak English and the use of a foreign language at home are very important factors. Races making up the "newer" immigration show higher percents of retardation. Retardation is also due to ill health, late entrance to school, mental defects, etc.

† ibid. p. 309.

‡ ibid. p. 309.

§ ibid. p. 309.

children of certain races show a greater degree of retardation than others is not necessarily a sign of less mental ability but rather of some external circumstances, that in another generation may entirely disappear."

RETARDATION IN NEW YORK CITY—Touching on conditions in New York City the findings exhibited above for the country at large are generally substantiated. In speaking of the mentality of the Italians and particularly of the Southern Italians from whence this large percentage of illiteracy and of retardation is derived Mangano says "The Southern Italian is illiterate but not unintelligent. Northern Italians have as low a percent of illiteracy as 11.8 and are outranked by but four other nationalities i. e. the Scandinavians with .4%, the English with 1.1%, the Irish with 2.7%, and the Germans with 5.3%." In all of these excepting the last, the difficulty of mastering a new language as exists with the Italian does not obtain. This percent of 11.8 is but a fraction higher than the average of the illiteracy of the general population of the United States which is 10%.

In New York City the average daily attendance of pupils in the public schools according to the latest available reports from the Supt. of Schools is shown to be 721,136. The percentage of pupils of foreign-born fathers was 71.5% of the total attendance. Of this the Americans of Italian extraction represent 30.1% or approximately 200,000 of the total school-going population of this city.

Concerning retardation among pupils of Italian origin in our schools here, we have some very interesting data. Dr. Ayres made a study of fifteen nationalities in fifteen New York City schools and took 20,000 records. He found the American of Italian extraction to lead in retardation, viz:*

Nationality	Percent recorded
German	16
American	19
Mixed	19
Russian	23
English	24
Irish	29
Italian	36

*Ayres, Leonard P. Laggards in Our City Schools. Russell Sage Foundation.

Dr. Ayres adds however, by way of comment on these figures that "opinions may differ radically as to the significance of these figures." The conclusion is that while the nationality factor has a distinct bearing on the problem of retardation and elimination, there is no evidence that these problems are most serious in those cities having the largest foreign population.

Dr. Van Denburg who also studied the causes of the elimination of students in public secondary schools of New York City has some interesting figures regarding the distributions of pupils studying there. His figures by nationality of pupils attending the High Schools of New York City show that the Italians of whom there is a constantly increasing number in that city, send more boys than girls to High School. The ratio is approximately three boys to two girls. This is shown in the following table, viz:

TOTAL HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE ARRANGED BY PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES

Parentage of Pupil	Boys	Girls	Total
American, White	4,666	6,610	11,276
Russian, Hebrew	1,661	1,354	3,015
German	1,330	1,443	2,773
Irish	618	1,043	1,661
German, Hebrew	624	652	1,276
English	323	598	921
Italian, North and South	342	197	539
Scotch	140	244	384
Polish, Hebrew	171	165	336
Swedish	101	164	265
Roumanian, Jew	143	110	253
Canadian, English	84	131	215
American, Negro	78	123	201
Danish	47	130	177
French	67	103	170
Montenegrin	49	76	125
Russian	36	87	123
Magyar	67	53	120
Bohemian	51	31	82
Spanish	38	34	72
Polish	35	31	66
Holland, Dutch	18	23	41
Canadian, French	13	25	38
Welsh	7	24	31
Roumanians	13	8	21
Austrians	9	11	20
Scattering foreign	66	59	125
Unclassified foreign Hebrew	666	458	1,124
TOTAL	11,463	13,987	25,460

Comparing the percentage of population in New York City at large with the percentage represented in the High School, Dr. Van Denburg finds the Irish most poorly represented. With 19% of the population they furnish but 6.5% of the total High School registration. Next come the Italians making up 6.4% of the population and furnishing but 3.1% of the High School pupils.

GENERAL POPULATION VERSUS HIGH SCHOOL POPULATION*

Countries of Origin	Numbers		Percentages	
	High School Population	General Population	High School Population	General Population
United States	11,477	907,351	45.1	26.4
Germany	4,049	735,992	15.9	21.4
Russia	3,166	240,805	12.4	7.0
Ireland	1,661	649,302	6.5	18.9
England	921	116,044	3.6	3.4
Italy	539	217,920	3.1	6.4
Poland	392	51,621	1.5	1.5
Scotland	384	37,668	1.5	1.1
Sweden	265	41,234	1.0	1.2
Canada, English	215	19,623	.8	.6
Denmark	177	8,223	.6	.2
France	170	23,203	.6	.7
Norway	125	16,746	.5	.5
Canada, French	38	3,899	.1	.1
Wales	31	3,119	.1	.1
Other Countries	1,942	361,472	7.6	10.5
TOTAL	25,452	3,434,222	100.0	100.0

THE PRESENT NEED—When the Immigration Commission made its report, it found less than 100 teachers of Italian blood in the public schools. In New York City there were 17 teachers of parents from the North of Italy, 8 from the South and 7 not specified, in all less than .1% of the total number of teachers of foreign lineage in this city. Today, according to Dr. Vittorio Racca, president of the Italian Teachers Association this mark has more than been doubled. Nevertheless on a pro-rata scale, or compared with the number of children of Italian origin in this city, the one great deficiency with respect to providing an incentive necessary to

*Van Den Burg, Dr. J. K.—"Causes of Elimination of Students in Public Schools (Secondary)" p. 36.

raising the low percentage of pupils of Italian origin in the schools of this city is the lack of teachers among their own kind. If there were a large well-knit and actively operating corps of public school teachers of Italian origin interested in visiting the homes and families of the great masses of Italian-speaking people in this city, the great stopping-off place between the public and the high school would cease to exist.

CHAPTER VIII

CITIZENSHIP

OBSTACLES TO CITIZENSHIP—Ignorance of the language is perhaps the greatest bar to citizenship. With the Italian another factor enters, namely, the tendency to return to Italy. Fully 30% of these immigrants go back to the homeland after they have accumulated some "savings." Taking the period of 1905-1910 as an example, we note the following proportions of returning immigrants.*

1905—31%	1908—34%
1906—38%	1909—30%
1907—62%	1910—42%

Because of this tendency the state of affairs found in 1898 when out of 16,000 workmen engaged in the construction of the Erie Canal 15,000 were unnaturalized, is not surprising.** This is not the whole story however. Fully 15% who returned to Italy with their savings are inevitably found among those who come to America the following year, viz:

PREVIOUSLY ADMITTED ITALIAN SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS—1899-1910

	Number	In United States previously	
People	Admitted	Number	Percent admitted
Italian, North	372,668	56,738	15.2
Italian, South	1,911,933	262,508	13.7

But both these factors are absent in the case of the offspring. Many of these individuals do not speak Italian as well as they do English, and a few speak no Italian at all. The majority, not having known Italy, have no desire to go there and reside permanently.

RELATION OF IMMIGRANT TO NATIVE VOTE—The importance of immigrant races as possible voters is greater than their importance in proportion to the population. This is so because males come in greater numbers than do females. For instance 10,000,000 foreign-born population furnishes 5,000,000 males of voting age, but

* Stella, Dr. Antonio—"Assicurzione Obbligatoria Degli Emigranti contro la Tuberculosi," p. 15.

** New York Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1898, p. 1155.

66,000,000 native population furnishes only 16,000,000 males of voting age. This is to say one-half of the foreign born and only one-quarter of the native-born are potential voters.* Of the foreign-born population two-thirds have either become citizens or have declared their intentions in 1900. Probably the proportion of native-white who did not vote was 15% of the total number while the percentage of the foreign-born who did not was over 40%.** This last proportion however varies with different races. Commons thinks that it is not so much a difference in willingness as it is a difference in appreciation. To be naturalized one must live in the country five years. The census authorities found that whereas 40% of those who had been here six to nine years have not declared their intentions of becoming citizens, only 7% of those who had been here twenty years had retained allegiance to their former government.

The "older immigration" represented by the German and Irish stocks have greater political significance because of this when compared with the "newer immigration," the Italians, Slavs, and Russian Jews. While but 7 to 13% of the foreign immigration are aliens, from 35 to 60% of the immigration from Southern Europe are aliens and therefore have no influence through the franchise. Time however will reduce this disparity very appreciably. The percentage of Italians that are citizens as found by the Immigration Commission in a representative investigation covering more than 8000 cases is:

		NUMBER		PERCENT	
Race	No. reporting complete data	Fully Naturalized	First Papers	Fully Naturalized	First Papers
Italian, North	4,069	1,028	834	25.3	20.5
Italian, South	3,811	597	547	15.7	14.4

This percentage of 25.3 true in the case of the Northern Italian surpassed the percentages found in this investigation for other numerous immigrants from South Eastern Europe. The Russian Hebrew had but 22.7%; the Lithuanian 21.1%; the Poles 19%; the Russian

* Commons—"Races and Immigrants in America," p. 191.

** "Twelfth Census Abstract," p. 18.

15.1%; the Slovak 12.1%. Further investigations have shown that 111,696 out of a total of 145,333 persons born in Italy were naturalized in 1900.

CITIZENSHIP STATUS IN NEW YORK CITY—In speaking of the contribution to citizenship that the Italian makes to America, Roberts says, "The Italians are old at the game of politics. In the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries they furnished political leaders to every country in Europe."* Lord on the same subject says, "The innate bent for politics of the Italian is strongly marked and nowhere is this more plainly shown than in America in spite of the common handicaps of unfamiliarity with our language and the absorbing demands of the struggle to earn a living. He is quick to comprehend the use and possible force of his ballot here, and is eager to become naturalized. This is signally shown in the extraordinary percentage of naturalized Italians in comparison with the total number of Italians in New York City. The carefully prepared records of the Commission established by the Italian Chamber of Commerce showed that 191,289 of the 225,026 persons of Italian parentage then living in the city were either born or naturalized Americans comprehending 83.4% of the total Italian population."**

Today this percentage is even higher for approximately 200,000 Italians of those who were unnaturalized have returned to Italy to fight. These represent a lot almost hand-picked from the unnaturalized group so that it would not be greatly out of the way if we said that perhaps of all the immigrant groups representing the "newer immigration" the greatest percentage of naturalized citizens belongs to the Italian group.

Notwithstanding the frequent disparaging remarks made about the "Italian vote being a joke" by city politicians, or past criticism that the Italian has a constitutional defection regarding the qualities of political genius, we have testimony of two men who are in a position to know, pointing to the contrary. George B. Mc-

* Roberts, Peter—"The Newer Immigration," p. 256.

** Lord, Trenor and Barrows—"The Italian in America," p. 223-224.

Clellan for seven years Mayor of New York City and whose last (1909) election could have been swung one way or the other according as the Italian vote was cast says, "Already we are beginning to feel the good effect of our schools upon our foreign-born population. Take the Italian . . . the number of them that are taking out citizenship papers is increasing every year. They make good citizens." The present incumbent of this office says, "The Italians in this city are among our best citizens and are held in great respect."*

THE PLACE OF THE WOMAN OF ITALIAN BLOOD—There is at present no way of telling how the girl or woman of Italian blood is going to take to her newly acquired citizenship and right to vote. As Dr. Van Denburg has shown, the Italian sends his boys to the city's High Schools in the ratio of three to every one girl that attends. The strong family ties of the Italian home are against and look with disfavor upon any and all worldly activities tending to break these bonds. Nevertheless Miss Elvira Barra, Italian District Leader in the Little Italy Harlem Colony, from her actual experience recently said, "These people have changed—the older woman who at first shrugged her shoulders at the thought of voting has become enthusiastic. I have reached the mothers through the younger generation who can read and write."† This is one of the new and fertile fields yet unexplored as it is even with many men. As Prof. Steiner says, "Perhaps the greatest problem still to be solved is how to interpret the one supreme gift which most men never possessed —the right of citizenship."**

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ITALY AND AMERICA—In passing it is well to make mention of the different attitude regarding the matter of citizenship that exists between the two governments—Italy and America. Italy holds that the children of any subject no matter where these children are born, take the status of the

* Letter from Mayor John F. Hylan to F. P. Buonora, Sept. 10, 1918.

† New York Evening Telegram—Sept. 8, 1918.

** Steiner, E. A.—"The Immigrant Tide," p. 199.

parent. The United States holds that the individual decides this for himself and that the place of birth is a factor. Speaking for the people themselves it is safe to say that the majority of Italians come here to stay and willingly take on the obligations in order to exercise the privilege of American citizenship. A concrete instance of the way that Americans of Italian extraction and naturalized Americans from Italy have lived up to these obligations is shown in the present war. "20% or 70,000 of the total voluntary enlistments around Boston at the beginning of the war were of Italian blood."* The American of Italian extraction is an American and considers himself such. The difficulty that arises in relation to Italy is one of long standing and apparently due to the rigidity of the Italian constitution. In this instance it is illuminating to quote from a speech of the former Italian Foreign Affairs Minister Senator Tommaso Tittoni given in the Chamber of Deputies at the March 3rd, 1905 sitting:

> "practically, from the Italian point of view, the question (naturalization) presents itself as follows: our Civil Code establishes at Article 4 that the son of a father who is an Italian citizen is himself an Italian citizen, and at Article II it declares that, whoever has obtained naturalization in a foreign land loses his Italian citizenship. Therefore the Italian subject who has fixed his residence in the United States finds himself confronted with this alternative: either to remain faithful to his nationality of origin and renounce those political and administrative rights which, in the great centers of emigration, would be the most efficient means of influence and protection of his interests; or else to accept the nationality of the country he resides in, losing **de jure** and **de facto** his Italian citizenship.
>
> " . . . inasmuch as regards the avoiding of possible conflict negotiations have been opened with the United States of America with the purpose of endeavouring to regulate by fixed rules all those

* Prof. James Geddes, Jr., From his contribution to the Symposium, p. 272.

> cases which could give occasion to such conflict. After having reached a certain point, however, it has been impossible to proceed with these negotiations on account of the manifest reluctance of the United States. In order to satisfy Senator ——— aspirations on the subject of naturalization it would be necessary to modify our Civil Code. It is a grave and arduous question upon which I can not commit myself; but since it has been so often raised I will have it examined by a Commission of Jurists and Sociologists acting in colleague with the Minister of Grace and Justice."*

This matter still remains to-day as it was left then by the Italian Foreign Minister with the result that no American of Italian extraction may go to Italy excepting that his father has been naturalized before his birth, without fear of being taken up as an Italian subject.

In this matter of citizenship it is coming to be a great source of racial pride and loyalty among the Italians and the Jews as well as with other races to place themselves on an equality with those who assume superiority over new-comers. They wish to escape the contempt with which the ignorant treat foreigners. As Woods puts this "they crave the full round of American experience . . . soon they realize that their children are to be Americans and this makes American citizenship more clearly their own destiny . . . the word REPUBLICAN is one that the Italian is familiar with and it has inspiring associations for him. They make good political workers. They organize effectively."**

* Senator Tittoni Tommaso, Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy (Memorial Volume dedicated to Rt. Hon. A. Balfour, translated by Baron Bernardo Quaranta di San Severino, p. 168-9.

** Woods, R. A.—"Americans in Process," p. 138.

CHAPTER IX.

PHILANTROPHY AND SOCIAL WELFARE

INTRODUCTION—It has been found that there are two periods when the immigrant is most in need of relief. The first occurs when he has landed and follows from the fact that he has a slender store of savings upon which to depend. Among the Jews in New York City the United Hebrew Charities Society office stated that 7% of the total Jewish immigration found it necessary to apply for relief within one year. According to the reports of the two chief agencies in New York City that offer relief to Italian immigrants we find that the numbers run into the thousands. The Italica Gens took care of 27,861 cases during a period of eight years and the San Raffaele almost a thousand every year.

In New York City during the year 1917 for the Italian element 117 men and 23 women and no children under 16 years of age applied for relief; in 1916 (a year of industrial depression) there were 10,035 men, 187 women and no children. Roughly speaking the average for persons of Italian blood was a little over 1% of the total number of persons who applied to the Municipal Lodging House for relief.* Private agencies of relief corroborate this low finding of approximately 1%.**

Relief of this sort however, is temporary, for unless the immigrant becomes self-supporting soon, the law makes him liable to deportation. The other occasion when such a one is most liable to need assistance is after he has spent some years in this country. He has then exhausted his native fund of physical vigor and lost his former elasticity of youth and so becomes unable to struggle against those who are fit and who adapt themselves into our industrial system.

Individuals of this sort represent a chronic state of

*From original data furnished by the Secretary of the Department of Charities.

**Wm. L. Butcher, Supt. Brace Memorial Home, New York City.

dependency which naturally affects their children. It has been found that of all the foreign-born heads in cases cared for by charity organization societies 38% had been in the United States twenty years or more and 70.7% ten years.*

The percentage of cases reported by the Charity Organization Society to the Immigration Commission for the country showed the North Italian to have made the best showing with a percentage of but 25.6%.** Like the Jew, the Italian sees to it that he does not tax unduly the state into which he migrates.

DEPENDENCY—With respect to the causes of dependency among Italians it is interesting to compare their status with other nationalities:†

Cause	Italian	Irish	English	German	Jews
Neglect or bad habits of breadwinner	8.7	20.9	14.0	15.7	12.6
Lack of employment	67.8	34.8	63.3	58.1	

In the first instance the Italians show up best; in the latter there is but a slight preponderence in their disfavor due chiefly to the fact that they represent the "newer immigration."

The American of Italian extraction comes from a home that knows little of what it is to be dependent upon others. Yet this can scarcely be said to be the common impression of most people. Too often the Italian is accused of being a characteristic beggar. Riis in "How the Other Half Lives" said on this point, "It is curious to find preconceived notions quite upset in a review of the nationalities that go to make up our squad of street beggars. The Irish lead off the list with 15% and the native American is only a little way behind him with 12%, while the Italian has less than 2%. The Germans constitute 8%." The analysis of the Bureau of Immigration confirms this. The Irish in the charitable institutions of the country compose 30%; the Germans 19%; the English 8.5%, while the Hebrew and the Italians both have 8%.

* "Paupers in Almhouses," p. 101.

** Fairchild—"Immigration," p. 322.

† Associated Charities of Boston—23rd Annual Report.

Other authorities follow the same strain, viz: "The variation in the number of Italians applying for relief is interesting. 54 families came to us in 1891 and only 69 last year though the Italian population had increased 15,000."* In New York State the data submitted in the 35th Annual Report of the State Board of Charities by the Hon. John W. Keller, President of the Department of Public Charities for New York City, contained the following tables:

TABLE A

(Showing nativity of persons admitted to almshouses)

Countries	Male	Female	Total
United States	355	199	554
Ireland	808	809	1,617
England and Wales	111	87	198
Scotland	25	14	39
France	19	2	21
Germany	290	84	374
Norway, Denmark and Sweden	22	6	28
Italy	15	4	19
Other Countries	50	36	86
TOTAL	1,695	1,241	2,936

TABLE B

(Nativity of those admitted to incurable hospitals)

Countries	Male	Female	Total
United States	7	4	11
Ireland	5	6	11
England	1	1	2
Poland		1	1
Germany	4		4
Italy		1	1
TOTAL	17	13	30

TABLE C

(Nativity of those admitted to blind asylums)

Countries	Male	Female	Total
United States	45	4	49
Ireland	36	3	39
England	3		3
Germany	4	1	5
Italy	1		1
TOTAL	89	8	97

*Associated Charities of Boston—23rd Annual Report.

Other data available regarding the Italians in New York City are the "statistics for a representative year showing that out of every 28,000 Italians in the city of New York there was only one in the almshouses on Blackwells Island; while out of every 28,000 Irish there were 140."* Mr. James Forbes, Chief of the Mendicancy Department of the Charity Organization Society says that he has never seen or heard of an Italian tramp. The fact that for actual dependency this strain represents but one percent of the city's pauper population is the other side of the almost universal recognition of his industry and thrift.

DELINQUENCY—The subject of crime in discussing newer types in our population is often connected with the problem of the pauper. The only study that any court of record in the United States ever made with race differences serving as a basis was in New York City. In 1909 the Court of Special Sessions upon the instigation of the Immigration Commission investigated over 2200 cases that came before it and demonstrated the futility of attempting to prove any relation between immigration and crime. Their conclusions were that no satisfactory answer could be found to the questions: (1) Is the volume of crime in the United States augmented by the presence of the immigrant and his offspring? and (2) if immigrants increase crime, what races are responsible for such increase? Not only did this investigation conducted among immigrants and their offspring in New York City find no basis for the common notion that the Italian race furnishes the highest percentage of those filling our jails but in the words of the committee making the investigation "immigrants are less prone to commit crime than the native American."** Changes, however, are noticed in the character of crimes committed. In the matter of crimes committed against the person the Italians lead but as is usual with such crime statistics for the whole United States, no differentiation is made between the Italian proper, who has come here

* Ed. by Willard Price—World Outlook, Oct. 1917.

** Report of Immigration Commission—Immigration and Crime Abst.

and his offspring, the American of Italian extraction who was born here. As it is but three percent of crimes committed by Italians for murder are convictions.*

This whole question of crime among both the Italian immigrant and his descendants needs more careful study than has been accorded in the past.** Some time in the future when we know the Italian nature better, we will appreciate what Dr. Prelini, Professor of Engineering in Manhattan College has in mind when he says, "The contribution of the Italian toward American democracy are sincerity of purpose, and the greatest respect for justice, which are the essentials of true democracy; they hate hypocrisy; the respect for justice is so deeply rooted in the Italian mind that many crimes are committed to redress suffered wrongs. Under this point of view even the crimes committed indicate a misapplied respect for justice among the lower classes of Italians."***

An interesting and instructive attempt has been made by Lord, Trenor and Barrows to set in its true light the apparently mistaken conception that some people have with respect to the so-called innate trait of criminality among Italians. These authors go on to say, "A careful examination of police records secured from every city in this country where nationalities are distributed in the

* Mangano, Antonio, Sons of Italy, p. 122.

** The fact that Prof. Bailey in a study of juvenile delinquency in New Haven found the American of Italian extraction to constitute 47.7% of the total number arraigned though according to the 1910 census only 15.7% of the total number of the native-born population of foreign parentage were of this nationality carries but little weight. New Haven has a population of but 133,605 (1910 census) and in no wise can be construed as constituting an example that is indicative of a condition that is general.. It is interesting to note in this connection that this same investigation was extended to New Britain, a typical manufacturing town with a population of approximately 50,000 and of the total number of native-born delinquents of foreign extraction that appeared before the courts of this state, not one was of Italian blood. Bailey, Wm. B.—"Children Before the Courts of Connecticut." Children's Bureau, Department of Labor. Bureau Publication No. 43, p. 73.

*** Contribution to symposium, infra Chapter 25.

records of arrest does not justify the assumption that the criminal tendencies of the Italians exceed the average of the foreign or of the native population. It must be born in mind that no comparison is valid which does not take into account the factor of age and relative proportion of males to females. Yet in Boston, Providence and even in other cities attracting the greater part of the Italian immigration the percentage of arrests of Italian foreign-born is less than the average for the total foreign-born," viz:

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF ARRESTS BETWEEN ITALIAN AND OTHER NATIONALITIES*

City	Total foreign born population	Number of arrests	Total Italian population	Number of arrests	% of Italian to total foreign-born population	% of arrests of Italian nativity
Boston	197,129	19,952	13,738	1,219	7.0	6.1
Providence	55,855	3,902	6,252	422	11.02	10.8

It will be noted, these authors go on to say, that in both the cities cited the record of arrests is for 1903, or three years later than the census population count. The Italian influx has raised materially the percentage of total Italian born, hence the strictly correct comparison would be more notably to their advantage. But since 1904 the year when Lord wrote, fully a million Italian immigrants have entered and this serves to push still further down the already low percentage. These authors say that in Paterson and other cities in New Jersey containing a considerable proportion of Italians like Newark, Elizabeth, etc., the comparison is still more favorable on the side of the Italians.

These local figures are corroborated by those for the country at large. The Italian strain in 1910 while constituting 10.1% or the second largest racial group of foreign born population furnished only 7.1% of the total

* Prepared from tables in "The Italian in America" by Lord, Trenor and Barrows.

number of foreign-born prisoners and juvenile delinquents. The most frequent offenders were of Irish extraction making up 26.9% of the total and with a ratio of commitments in proportion to their numbers twice as frequent as the Italians. Of the seventeen nationalities studied on the basis of commitments the Italians took the astonishingly high rank (considering common notions) of being twelfth down from the top or worst position. The countries listed according to highest ratios are:

RANK OF COUNTRY WITH RESPECT TO THE RATIO* OF COMMITMENTS**

Mexico	1
Ireland	2
Scotland	3
Austria	4
England & Wales	5
Canada, English	6
Sweden	7
Norway	8
Canada, French	9
France	10
Poland	11
ITALY	12
Russia	13
Hungary	14
Denmark	15
Germany	16
Switzerland	17

When we come to consider the nature of offense committed we come to what has always been a knotty problem. Here again the figures offered are for the entire country. We have what in the face of things looks like a blasting indictment because in crimes committed against the person i. e. assault, the Italian strain shows up at the top with the highest rate of any. The figures are:

* The ratio referred to is the number of foreign born white prisoners and juvenile delinquents committed in 1910 per 100,000 white population born in the same country.

** Report on Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents. Bureau of Census 1919, p. 128.

PRISONERS AND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS COMMITTED FOR ASSAULT*

1910

Nationality	Number	Percentage	Ratio§ of Commitment
ITALY	903	12.8	67.2
Hungary	243	10.6	49.0
Poland	487	9.7	51.9
Austria	595	8.6	70.4
Russia	433	7.7	36.6
Other Countries	331	6.6	44.3

One must be cautious however in interpreting the significance of such figures as the above. *The figures cited by the census authorities are based on the total number of offenders and not on the total population*, or to use the words of Dr. Joseph A. Hill, Expert Special Agent, who prepared this report, "The figures above do not necessarily mean that in proportion to their numbers in the total population the Italians are committed for assault more frequently than other nationalities."**

In New York City however, the figures Lord was able to collect showed slightly to their disadvantage as was to be expected, viz:***

Total foreign-born population	1,270,080
Total born in Italy	145,433
Italian percentage of total foreign-born population	11.5%
Total arrests for foreign-born	59,077
Total arrests of Italian nationality	7,307
Percentage of arrests of Italian nationality	12.3%

In further explanation of the above the authors point out that there is at the outset a deduction to be made for discharges and acquittals; that the arrests made are largely for breaches of city ordinances such as peddling without a license, etc.

Lord shows the injustice in past attempts operating

* Compiled from tables in "Report on Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents." Bureau of Census, 1919, pp. 130-131.

§ Number committed per 100,000 white population born in the same country.

** Compiled from tables in "Report on Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents." Bureau of Census, 1919, p. 130.

*** Lord, Trenor and Barrows—"The Italian in America."

to jack up the figures showing Italian criminality to be higher than the average through the device of dropping from the record all crimes resulting from drunkenness. Such an instance is the following: A report had been prepared by the Immigration Restriction League based upon the criminal record of Italians in Massachusetts. Now Massachusetts is the one state that has made the most thoro examination of the whole question of intemperance as related to crime, and the report showed that about 87% of all crimes committed in Massachusetts grow out of intemperance of some form. The Italian population of Boston and of Massachusetts show a higher percentage of arrests than all the races from Northern Europe; but while three in any one hundred cases of the Northern races including the Scotch-Irish, the English, and the Germans were arrested for intemperance, only three in one thousand cases of the Italians were so arraigned. In fact, from the investigation made by the Committee of Fifty of nearly 30,000 cases in the records of Organized Charity, the Italians had the remarkably low percentage of 3.5, while the Irish and the English showed 25%, Americans 24%, and the Germans 24%.*

The following excerpt taken from the Joliette Prison Post, a paper edited by prisoners of the Illinois State Penitentiary will attest to the universal rather than the national trait of wrong-doing among human individuals, viz:

> "One of the most popular but highly erroneous beliefs of the day is that illiteracy and crime are closely related. It is customary to plead for a wrongdoer that he did not enjoy the advantage of an education when young. Quite recently a survey was made of the prisoners in the State Penitentiary which served to upset some of these cherished notions."
>
> "In a total population of 1886, it was found that 1181 had received a major portion of an elementary education and only 309 were illiterate. There were

* Koren, John—"Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem,"

29 University graduates on the roll, and 106 High School graduates. The survey was made by a man convicted of forgery and educated at the Lake Forest College."*

The lesson from these and other figures is not difficult to read. Prof. Howard writing on this question says:

"Among the foreign-born residents of the United States, the relative percentage of felonies due to intemperance for each nationality stands in direct ratio to the drinking habits of such nationality. *The hardest drinking peoples show the highest relative percentages of heinous crimes induced by alcohol:*"†

When we consider the exceptionally low percentage of alcoholism among the Italian-speaking population this last statement has increased significance. Miss Claghorn's intensive studies of Italians in New York City leads her to think that "The Italian immigrant is very little given to drink." This statement is frequently made and universally accepted. If one were to enter almost any home in New York City where Italian is spoken. he would be sure to meet with the usage of wine. Italian families use wine as a food and have through centuries so regulated their diet and manner of living with respect to it that abuses of it are rarely encountered.

The writer is able to present for the first time the actual statistics relating to the frequency of the phenomenon of drunkenness among Italians thruout the United States. The Census Bureau has just published its final report on prisoners based upon the data obtained from the last census in a large 535 quarto page volume. The figures below are compiled by the writer from the tables contained therein, and show for the Italian strain the lowest percentage of commitments arising from causes of this description when compared with all other nationalities:

* Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. Vol. 8, p. 140.

† The American Journal of Sociology—"Alcohol and Crime," George Elliott Howard, July 1918, p. 65.

PRISONERS AND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS COMMITTED FOR DRUNKENNESS, 1910*

Nationality	Number	Percentage	Ratio of Commitments§
ITALY	2,124	30.0	158.1
Russia	2,771	49.4	234.0
Austria	3,525	50.9	416.9
France	3,354	51.2	302.0
Hungary	1,185	51.5	239.1
Switzerland	209	53.5	167.4
Germany	5,060	57.1	218.9
Mexico	3,031	59.0	1,379.0
Canada, English	3,531	64.1	435.4
Canada, French	1,549	63.2	402.3
Ireland	20,825	77.7	1,540.1
Other Countries	2,735	54.5	366.0

* Compiled from "Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents"—Bureau of Census, 1919, pp. 130-131.

§ Number committed per 100,000 white population born in the same country.

PART III.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAITS*

CHAPTER X

INTRODUCTION

DIFFICULTIES OF CLASSIFICATION—In placing Americans of Italian extraction in the four** classes described below the writer is following a purely arbitrary plan of classification. It is not meant that there is any hard and fast line which serves to mark off one class from another or that any objective indicia exist that can be used to measure exactly subjective states of mind; or even that the four following types exhaust all the types of mind that there are to be found among the peoples of Italian lineage that make their homes here. Relative rather than absolute standards are behind the classifications made.

The question of the quantitative measurement of subjective states of mind has produced a good deal of discussion. Giddings has attempted to derive a law of sympathy, and therefore likeness, inherent in a population based upon their "consciousness-of-kind", seeking to show that the nature of a population's density and homogeneity corresponds to the character of its material environment.† Another well-known sociologist Gabriel Tarde in his "Social Laws" holds that intellectual activities of the individual can be quantitatively measured.‡

*The terminology, classifications, and descriptions, used —through PART III—Psychological Traits, follow closely and are adapted from the terminology, classifications and descriptions of Giddings (vide, Inductive Sociology, passim.)

**The four types of individuals to be briefly described in this section are:

(a) The "tenement" type (an ideo-emotional type).
(b) The "trade" and "business" type (a dogmatic-emotional type).
(c) The "Y. M. C. A." and "College" type (a transitional type).
(d) The "professional" type (a critical-intellectual type).

†Giddings—Inductive Sociology, p. 118.

‡Page 34.

M. M. Davis, Jr., shows how this quantitative method has been applied to anthropological data.§ With sociological data, however the case appears to be different. Too many factors are concerned, and too many variables need to be considered. Social facts can not altogether be stated in terms of number or volume or density. An able presentation of this last view is the recent article by Boodin who holds "that statistical methods applied to social processes must indeed seem vague as compared to the laws of mechanical science and we are indeed rightly suspicious of too exact formulas in the social sciences."* Munsterberg has shown that the only way mental evaluations can be quantitatively compared is by first reducing them to their physical correlates as is done in physiological psychology. But this leaves out the very heart of the phenomenon that is to be compared. As Bristol says "evaluations differ from moment to moment and social facts are the outcome of these ever shifting moments." Finally one of America's foremost sociological methodologists in a very recent text while ascribing the utmost importance to precision in preparing the data for social science does not believe its true aim is to bring society within the sphere of arithmetic. He says "exact prediction and mechanical control for the social world I believe, to be a false ideal inconsiderately borrowed from the provinces of physical science. There is no real reason to think that this sort of prediction or control will ever be possible."**

It is impossible therefore to subject Americans of Italian extraction to any statistical analysis that would permit us to measure quantitatively their mental product and to compare it with the product of other Americans. The only alternative is to judge them by the institutions which reflect their stage of mental, moral and general civilizatory progress and to sociologically evaluate these. Just such an analysis is attempted in Part IV, Social Organization of this book.

§ Psychological Interpretations of Society, p. 217.
* Boodin—American Journal of Sociology, March 1918, p. 705 passim.
** Cooley, Charles Horton, The Social Process, p. 398.

At some time or other probably every one in the class labelled the "tenement" type, in certain specific reactions, closely resembles individuals falling within the class labelled the "professional" type and vice versa. But taking a broad perspective it can be said that the reactions of those individuals described in the class called the "tenement" type consistently resemble the type of mind that Giddings has called the "ideo-motor" type; as does the class of individuals making up what is called here the "trade" and "business" type resemble more than any other, the type of mind called by Giddings the "dogmatic-emotional"; and as the last two types here described namely the "college" and "professional" types resemble the so-called "critical-intellectual" type of mind.

In dwelling then on the general characteristics of the American of Italian extraction it would be difficult to say that any one individual corresponded altogether and exactly, to such and such a type. One finds that in certain situations this individual's reactions are such as categorize the "ideo-emotional" type, and in other situations the reactions more nearly correspond to those distinguishing the "critical-intellectual" type. In between these two types of extremes are represented all possible combinations and shadings of reactions that make classifications difficult at best and open always to grave sources of error. Dogmatization here is for the sake of clarity.

While the basis for classification of types of Americans of Italian extraction is therefore a purely arbitrary one, nevertheless there are certain constant factors noticed thruout that are helpful in forming a judgment as to what logically constitutes the proper ground or basis for classifying an individual in such and such a category. More important perhaps than any other factor is that of education. Not only does it determine the kind of activities that are indulged in, but also the associations that are formed and the nature of the contacts established. The full volume of the type under surveillance here has not yet advanced sufficiently in years to give us any basis for making any conclusions in this respect.

ECONOMIC STATUS—The economic status of the home determines in most cases the circle in which the individual is to move. As a rule the American of Italian extraction is poor and this class has not produced any great financial men such as the Hebrews have. Not infrequently however, the individuals of this class rise above the economic obstacle. The president of the Columbia Circolo* at Columbia University at the outbreak of the war figured out that almost fifty percent of this type of student at Columbia was there either thru scholarship aid or by means of work done after school hours. The economic background for the great majority of Americans of Italian extraction is that lowest down in our wage scale.

PLEASURES—The physical background for by far the overwhelming majority of this type of American is the "street." It is their playground. The home is not to be considered as a desirable place to spend one's leisure time in so far as fully 85 percent of these Americans in New York City are concerned. That the "street" has the better of the competition between the two is shown by the frequent claim made by so many Italian mothers that "their children are wild and so they put them in an institution or an asylum." A survey of the Italian colonies in New York City shows that there are at least 300,000 such people in New York City of an age calculated to make fit subjects for the influences of the "street" to effectively work upon.

The ages of each group determine the nature of the activities indulged in. For instance in the professional type our individuals are settled and matured. Their status can be more easily determined and with greater accuracy than that of the other three types discussed which are still in a transitional or unsettled stage.

Length of stay in this country affects the vocation of the individual but hardly his status with the different groups noted. But the degree of parental influence obtaining is very important in that it determines largely the attitude one takes towards questions in politics. If one is closely linked up with the family of an older gen-

*Nicholas Bucci—"Italian Scholarship at Columbia." The Italian Intercollegiate—Vol. 1, Jan. 1917, p. 4.

eration and the influence of the parent is strong he is apt to think as does the parent, thereby thwarting the development of a full-blown American habit of thinking and of action. In the instance here under discussion however, this family bond or parental sway, among the Italian speaking Americans, is very attenuated.

By noting one's play and recreational activities we get the surest index of the innate bent of the type. Among these people too often the work they do is least expressive of themselves but "in their pleasures they are themselves and follow their bent."* The largest modicum of free choice is evidenced in one's play, and so by observing the nature of the recreations indulged in one is afforded another way of judging the type of mind in question. One's mode of life includes such factors as cooperation, individual and social choices, personal characteristics, etc., and these are all helpful indices for judging the type.

Whether one is a citizen or not plays little part in determining the class into which he falls. Vocation is a factor in determining the way an individual is to develop and the class into which he is placed. All these factors together serve to point out or gauge in a rough but approximately certain way the general trend of the individual type. None of the distinctions made are absolute—a constant over-lapping exists and the classifications made correspond as was said before, in a rough way and reflect the type of organization described in the chapters on Social Organization. So that judging from the above we find what we have been led to suspect, namely that it is the "ideo-motor" and "ideo-emotional" types of mind among Americans of Italian extraction in New York City that belong to the "street," "athletic" and even "settlement" clubs; the "dogmatic-emotional" type that is joining the Y. M. C. A. Associations and their like, such as the religious and benevolent associations and the civic club; and the "critical-intellectual" type of mind that is interested in the high-school and college Circolo, the Social Welfare League and the Professional club.

*Williams, An American Town, A Sociological Study, Columbia University Studies in Political Science, etc., p. 107.

CHAPTER XI

THE "TENEMENT" TYPE

(AN IDEO-EMOTIONAL TYPE)

BACKGROUND—A general survey of the features characterizing the "tenement" type of American of Italian extraction will disclose the following information. As a rule they are not the muscle-bound, stolid, heavy-set coarse physical type such as is represented by the immigrant who comes here "en masse." Boas' studies of the descendants of Italian immigrants show that they suffer physically from the readjustment to this climate and environment.

The home conditions are such that one wonders why there are not more perversions of the natural instincts than actually is the case. Coming from neighborhoods whose inhabitants find their margin of economic subsistence a very slender one, as a rule little time is left or inclination evolved that can be devoted to things of the spirit or to matters cultural and influences refining.

Congestion, poor sanitation, foul air and poverty all breed in time a nonchalant indifference to these. Ambition is starved and where not actually killed, the residual modicum lives on to embitter a rancorous cynicism. It is true that as you keep piling on opportunities, a lad is apt to hold them cheaply if not altogether indifferently; but it is equally true that if the struggle to achieve be made too bitter it will inevitably poison the springs of character. For those of Italian stock the percentage of criminals is recruited largely from this class, and is the shadowy basis for the grossly exaggerated statement of Hall that the descendants of the Italian immigrants are twice and three times more criminal than are their fathers. To a large extent these Americans "gone wrong" have lived too long under the perverting influences of the "street" and the niggardly auspices of our social organization which found no proper outlet for their pent-up energies.

Looking at the spiritual development of this type one must report a dearth or paucity of spiritual thinking or even interest. They are a people of *deed* and not of *creed*. Where there is avowed adherence to religious tenets it is apt to be of a formal and perfunctory kind, in many cases representing what is feared rather than understood. Dr. Jones was led to say that the "religious life of the Italian is spasmodic and is stimulated chiefly by religious celebrations that appeal to the dramatic instincts, or as it is stirred by some calamity that befalls the individual or his friends."* This is exactly what Woods has in mind when he says that "the Italian goes to church for social reasons."**

It can safely be said that the "tenement" type has had little if any schooling extending beyond the grammar grades. The work they do must be financially remunerative and that immediately so. The membership distribution of the "Huskies" and of the "Nameoka" Associations which are the two organizations with members of this type specifically described showed that the majority are practising vocations that require little if any school discipline. Such vocations as are practised are varied and the character of application to such is intermittent. The home offers little incentive to continued employment, for in the main the influences emanating from the crowded tenement homes where the Italian speaking population literally teems, are unsocial in character. The growing generation of such Italians in New York City misses by a wide margin the courtesy, politeness and generally social qualities of his parent.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS—In disposition these Americans correspond most nearly to what Giddings calls the "instigative" type. A marked tone of pleasure-craving exists thruout and is perhaps dominant. The pleasure-loving character of this type calls for pleasures that are of a motory and sensory kind. Boon companions, a good social time and not too long and

* Jones, Dr. Thomas J., Sociology of a New York City Block, p. 95.

** Woods, Robert A., Americans in Process.

concentrated time and attention on any one problem—betray the "Latinity" of this group.

While no adequate statistical proof exists from which to determine the distribution for all types of dispositions for all nationalities that are most prevalent, common observation assures us that instigative dispositions are more numerous than the "aggressive" and much more numerous than the "domineering" while relatively few dispositions are "creative."* In noting these individuals of the "tenement" class as instigative in disposition we see that they conform to the type of disposition that is most prevalent for all races.

We find also that theirs is a type of character that employs "temptation" and "persuasion" as a means of accomplishing its end. The dispositions of this "tenement" population are made to follow along indirect rather than direct channels. There is always some "double-crossing" (to use their own expression) going on among these people. The native suspicion of the members of this class makes this a widely used thing.

COOPERATION—These people all have the Italian language as a background for their linguistic inheritance. But it is not that liquid and musical Italian of which we read; instead it is a blend or jargon of dialects understood only by the group of families that came from the same district in Italy. Cooperation for the adult is limited to these similarly speaking Italians; for the younger generation it is limited by the objective conditions that obtain. The generally cooperative nature of the American of Italian extraction is shown by the numerous social, educational and political interests that he always has in hand. Subjective conditions of cooperation are determined by type of mind, of disposition and of character. Because the mental type of this class of individuals is largely "ideo-emotional" we have a cooperation evidenced that is largely based upon action swiftly and even superficially sympathetic. All the forms of activity indulged in show simple action and lots of it whether it is a picnic or a dance. Giddings found an

* Giddings, F. H., Descriptive and Historical Sociology, p. 210.

overwhelming majority of the American people to be of the "ideo-emotional" and "dogmatic-emotional" type. His words on this point are "the general conclusion that the mental mode of the American people as a whole is 'ideo-emotional' to 'dogmatic-emotional' may probably be accepted as established."* In this instance therefore and so far as mental modes are concerned our American of Italian origin is not very different from the native stock.

The group of organizations with memberships of individuals falling within this category among Italian speaking Americans affords many instances of the character of their cooperation; and because their Latin appreciation is relatively high the result is that the cooperative activities entered into fall along instinctive as well as along sympathetic lines. There is no doubt that in every organization effected on the East Side the individuals comprising it are foremost of all else conscious of their group integrity and deliberately seek to follow out lines of cooperation that will strengthen the instinctive basis upon which they are organized.

When the Italian has lived here long enough to no longer resist the assimilating influences of environment, this instinctive character or basis of their forms of cooperation will be changed, but not before. Dr. Jones says "tenement dwellers see many sights and hear many sounds and are influenced by many people every day of their lives. But each day the stimuli are the same, in Winter, Spring, Summer and Autumn and the people they meet are very much the same as those to whom they are accustomed. There is little time for individual improvement and so while the elements composing these people are immeasurably different in character and in mind, assimilation is inevitable. Appreciation of one another will increase; inter-marriage and blending of characteristics will follow and similarity of behaviour will be greater. The Italian will be less impulsive in his responses."** When this occurs, probably not until

* Psychological Review, Vol. 8, No. 4, July 1901, pp. 337-349.

** Jones, Dr. Thomas J., Sociology of a New York City Block, p. 40.

the third generation, a radical modification of this instinctive basis for the forms of social organization of this type will be in order.

Because such groups of this "tenement" type of people are limited in membership to those who come from the same district or neighborhood and are easily accessible one to another, intercommunication is easy, contacts are frequent and both these serve to strengthen the subjective conditions of cooperation. Frequent contacts afford the widest opportunity for intimate associations but as Jones has intimated, only with those of a relatively like kind. It is not surprising therefore to find the "esprit de corps" among such groups remarkably tenacious. Concrete instances of collective behaviour are numerous. At practically all bazaars, entertainments, and benefits of an extra-local nature where the call is made on the basis of their common Italian ancestry these individuals are enlisted with enthusiasm. Such affairs are numerous. Some of those of recent date are the McDougal Alley Festa, Italian Allied Bazaar at the Grand Central Palace for the relief of Italian Reservists, the Italian Village, New York Public Library (auspices of Italian Ambassador), Italy Day (June 24th), the Annual Benefit for the Italian Hospital, etc. It is this display of the cooperative spirit within the group that largely makes possible the continuity of such affairs. One could very easily add numerous other instances to show how definite and real are the bonds between such individuals that make for cooperation.

The "tenement" type of Italian speaking American, it is true often contributes to affairs as have been mentioned without any very great understanding of their real nature; but this is because he is able to discern one of his own kind or of a relatively like kind very readily. As a rule his Italian nature is apt to view with distrust advances made by strangers. Possible friends are greeted with a cordiality that depends not so much upon any reflective sympathy as it is due to the spontaneity of their effervescent natures.

This is to say that their consciousness of kind is intensive in feeling but narrowly grooved. It does not

allow for the breadth and latitude discernible in the wholly tolerant and always "open mind" which develops only from extensive reading, varied intercourse, intercommunication and wide travel. Let the intense Italian nature once get "set" and it becomes intolerant of doubt, impatient with hesitation and scornful of weakness in others. In eighty-six families within the Italian block studied by Jones, instinctive responses of this type of mind to set stimuli were found to be the predominant method of appreciation and in 93 cases were judged to be an important subordinate method.*

Americans of Italian extraction of this class desire and feel affection; desire and expect sympathy; experience penetratingly the desire to be recognized and appreciated; are acutely conscious of resemblances—but their environment and associations do not operate to give them the mellowness and sanity of balance in these things as come only with varied intercourse and associations, communication, quiet time for reflection, leisure, deliberation, opportunities for exercising options and the exercise for independent judgment on matters of financial and social import. These aspects of development are pitifully circumscribed in their cases, by the fact that many of these opportunities are the reflection of a certain economic freedom and relatively higher social plane of living than is that with which they are familiar or that their circumstances permit them to enjoy. Furthermore, the environment of the East Side and of the other colonies where there are Italians, acts as an effective damper upon any excessive and sustained idealism and, incubus-like, clots out any such effort.

PLEASURES—Pleasures of this type, as has been said, are largely of a motor and sensory kind and in no way greatly different from the pleasures of the "tenement" types of the various nationalities that one readily meets in a tour thruout the slum sections. One meets with the usual round of socials, dances, picnics, parlor and athletic games. Music is always made most of and individual performances by persons of superior talent

* vide Jones, Thomas J., Sociology of a New York City Block, p. 52 seq.

the writer has found more numerous among these people than among the American of Jewish, Irish or German extraction. Cards are a close second and the game invariably is attended with betting.

Pleasures of emotional ideation include religious activities. One notes that interests along these lines are not up to par, in many cases not even extending to attendance of religious services. Belonging to a church, with many, is a mere verbal adherence to its traditions. Little if any original thinking is done. Some outward manifestations such as church going, wearing amulets, charms, and lighting candles in the homes are practised but all this is indicative of the adult's prerogative. If it means anything to the youth it is a sapless acquiescence to what is feared rather than what is understood. They say and feel themselves to be living in the present and in their thinking what is not in the present *is not* at all.

With regard to his pleasures of inductive ideation the case is more hopeful. Practically all read, for all have had a smattering of public school education, some even having finished the elementary course. It would be difficult to say what constitutes the back-bone of reading for this type. Topics run thru the whole field of choices and are both well chosen and persisted in. Newspapers and magazines are commonly read. Of newspapers perhaps the Journal is the most read and more widely known than any other. This group characterized as the "tenement" type is the most common type of mind among the Americans of Italian extraction in New York City and more than quadruples the "critical-intellectual" type of mind existing among the professional class.

TYPE OF MIND—Already several investigations have been made each attempting to determine the most prevalent type of mind characterizing the "tenement" type of the Italian portion of this city's population. All agree that the "ideo-emotional" type is the most common. Douglas* in specifically describing six representative in-

*Douglas, David W., Influence of the Southern Italian on American Society (Columbia Univ. Studies in Sociology).

dividuals by character sketches, points out that they are representative of the entire population so situated. Likewise Haynes** in the group described by him, again using the method of individual character sketches, in eight out of ten specific instances points to this ideo-emotional tone as indicative of the entire "tenement" portion of Italian speaking Americans. Jones'† findings are in like accord. Elsewhere the present author‡ has used the same method, employed by these writers, and describing minutely the individual characteristics and personal traits of over a dozen individuals of this class, pointed out the "ideo-emotional" nature of their mental modes. It seems fairly well established therefore that this is the most prevalent type of mind in the Italian quarters of this city.

It would not however be without profit if we inserted here just one such character sketch, typical of this type, as it is pictured by one not of a like racial strain. Bryce Haynes says of A——.

> "We have no difficulty in classifying A—— as distinctively of a pleasure-loving, convivial type of character and of an instigative disposition. His motor reaction is rather slow and continuity of thought decidedly intermittent. The kind of movement may most properly be described as semi-voluntary; his emotions as weak and temperament as sanguine. His formation of belief or judgment may be classed as objective and his mode of reasoning as imaginative (analogical). His motives of appreciation are clearly pleasures of sense, idea and emotion and his wide interest would cause his method of appreciation to be called 'curious inspection.' While his degree of appreciation is high, his motives of utilization are clearly appetitive or craving for pleasures and the method that of insti-

** Haynes, Bryce, Some Italian Types of Mind (Columbia University Studies).

† Jones, Thomas J., Sociology of a New York City Block (Columbia University Studies).

‡ Mariano, John H., A Sociological Study of Certain Italian-Americans. (Columbia Univ. Studies in Sociology).

gation. Motives of characterization may most properly be classed as new desires while accommodation fittingly describes the method. Comparing the above with the description of the ideo-emotional type of mind we find that A—— is a typical example."*

Naturally with such individuals we find that motor impulses are high and strong; instincts are saturated with varying emotions, the gay predominating. In sympathy the American of Italian extraction of this class is quick to respond but the reactions tend to be instable as often as they are stable. An overwhelming exuberance regarding a new undertaking is frequently apt to meet with a quiet death through as rapid a disinterestedness. The American of Italian extraction is rich in imagination, again speaking for this type only, with greater than the pro rata decrease in creative intellect that often corresponds. Ideas are abundant but tend to be loosely organized and so lack much of that strong centralizing bond that is needed to harness them and render them fit to be put into execution. But much that is deprecatory in this respect is subject to some discounting by virtue of the fact that excellency in these is a reflection of exposure to systematized instruction and maturity in years neither of which factors are of paramount importance in considering this American of the "tenement" class.

The American of Italian extraction as we find him here is quick to respond to any stimulus but such promptness is often at the expense of persistency. Such reactions are apt to be as involuntary as they are voluntary. Reactions are followed frequently by discussions setting forth good reasons why a particular enterprise should be supported giving the whole affair an air of concerted volition supplemented by rational, intellective motives and by logical rather than by analogical reasons. But this again is apt to be more external than internal. Dr. Jones believes from this that "the manner and intensity of response to stimulus is quick but irregular. Often

Haynes, Bryce—"Some Italian Types of Mind."

it seems out of proportion to the stimulus in kind or in intensity—likewise can be noted the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race in the close correspondence of stimulus to response."* This last deduction may be "relatively" but not "absolutely" true. One must raise the question, not "Does the American of Italian extraction gesticulate more?" but "Does he reason less?" An answer to this question is still forth-coming from the genetic and social psychologists. We leave this type of American therefore with the feeling that his greatest need is "direction."

*Jones, Dr. Thomas J.—"Sociology of a New York City Block," p. 28.

CHAPTER XII

THE TRADE OR BUSINESS TYPE

(A DOGMATIC-EMOTIONAL TYPE)

BACKGROUND—As was said earlier there is no absolute way of measuring quantitively innate differences of type. Everything therefore must be relative. All the individuals in one category are found at times acting in ways more or less used to distinguish a different type.

The Americans of Italian extraction described here as constituting the "trade or business" type are not the adult Italians in New York City who are in business today. Such individuals for the most part are products of a different environment and social organization. The numerous businesses trafficking in wines, liquors, oils, macaroni, cheeses, groceries, fruits and other Italian products are for the most part conducted by Italians or (Americans now) who were not born in this country and such as a class fall outside this study. What we are describing here is a type of American of Italian blood who has been since his early years engaged for the most part in subordinate positions in different American industries of all descriptions, offices, factories and other commercial enterprises.

These Americans of the "trade" or "business" type are so-called because to all obvious appearances the main activity which admits of observance is that concerned with the work which brings in their weekly wages, in other words, their vocation. The matter of temperament however is just as important and must not be overlooked.

It seems that such individuals are less susceptible to American methods, ways of thinking and of doing things. Their membership is largely recruited from individuals representing the 10.4% portion of Italian immigration that came here before their fourteenth birthday. Their "Italianism" hangs with them too long for them to be

permitted an early start into American life. If a house to house canvass of this type were possible it would be found that a less proportion of these are voters than is true of any of the other classes. For instance the Italian banks, benefit societies, fraternities and newspaper hold little or no attraction whatsoever to any of Italian extraction belonging to the tenement, college, or professional types, but to the American of Italian extraction of the "trade" or "business" type the opposite holds true and one-third of them support such institutions in some way or other.

Such individuals reflect also a larger share of susceptibility to home culture. They are not likely to go to work as office boys as do the "tenement" or settlement types, or as clerks in American industries and business houses downtown, or as clerks for the U. S. Postal Service or even as truckmen. Instead they flock to the shops and factories performing mechanical work or work such as tailoring, cloth sponging, cigar-making, etc., where a knowledge of the English language is least necessary. It is from this group that the adult immigrant institutions derive all of the little flow of the younger generation they have to swell their ranks.

The physical background for the "trade" type is the same as that of the previous type with the difference that the home influence in the former class is disproportionately large.

The fact that they are categorized as the "trade" or "business" type shows that their schooling as a primary thing is over and must have been limited judging by their ages and the nature of the work in which they are engaged. The wages of the "trade" and "business" class compare favorably with the wages of the "tenement" group because usually it represents labor that is skilled or technical like barbering, tailoring, shoe-making.

Their trades pay them anywhere from $25 to $50 a week and this enables them to live comfortably. Their mode of living is plain and gives them an air of thorogoing stability and steadiness. Theirs is the steady plodding nature.

In mentality such fellows are strong but narrowly

grooved and therefore imperfectly developed. If a thorogoing study were to be made of the politics of this type it would be found to contain 90% of the socialistic vote coming from the Italian element of this city.

At the same time, these people are more amenable to church rule and regulations than the previous type. This is true partly because of the degree of dependence they as strangers in a new land place upon a recognized and stabile institution such as is the church. Temperamental differences also count and help explain the attachment of this dogmatic-emotional type to the Church. Their religion is taken seriously and acted out with extreme literalness. Their home conditions foster a narrow and cribbing viewpoint in all things. It was this type that "in a small town in the State of New York petitioned the Bishop for a church."

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS—Individuals of this type more nearly correspond in disposition to that which is understood by the word "domineering." Everything that comes to their notice and that takes their time must continue to prove its worth if it is to stay. Such an individual subjects everything excepting his personal "hobbies" to a searching analysis and he is ready to dissent quickly everywhere and everytime that an occasion presents itself. An organization effected by such a group is usually the seat of more turmoil and discussion than is true of others.

This type of mind makes such individuals inclined to introspection and they can and do become very un-social, missing by a wide margin the "Latin" buoyancy of the race from which they are descended. Many Americans say that the greatest loss that the Italian sustains in his contact with American democracy is this perversion of his "inherent social sense." Mr. Davenport, Headworker of the Italian settlement says on this point, "The Italian is infinitely bettered industrially by emigrating but socially he suffers a great loss." Both of these "gains and losses"—the economic and the social—are most markedly shown by way of contrast in the cases of this type we are now discussing. In Italy these individuals would have been agriculturalists; in America

they are skilled mechanics or artisans commanding a relatively high wage. But in the transition they lose their "social" poise. It results in this type of individual continually photographing his own inner mental states. He is altogether too much with himself and from one who is un-social, he easily slips into the type we distinguish as anti-social.

COOPERATION—That the above is possible is explained in part by the circumscribed character of their circle of friends. This fact is due chiefly to their imperfect grip of the language. Such individuals strike one as being always unhappy, though in talking to them this is not easily seen or made apparent. One can't escape the impression that here is an individual who has attained maturity without ever having passed through the preliminary stages of youth, play, etc. Even when this type does play it is made a business and taken very seriously. They apply themselves to it with an assiduity that makes it seem a task to the outsider. It is this type that Jones had in mind when he saw the convivial nature of the Italian change because of the hard work to which he was subjected here. Change with this type tho perhaps is slowest of all. Mr. Douglas believes that this type does change, and changing, leaves influences that are not bad. He says:

> "The influence that the Southern Italian is exerting depends on the degree of his assimilation into our American stock, and indirectly on the extent to which he modifies any of our customs or manners. If he is not pliable and does not respond favorably to the right kind of leadership; if he persists in his old habits and customs; if in short he is lacking in the potentialities of good citizenship, then without question we should say that he is a dangerous element and his influence could only result in evil. We have tried to show in the body of this paper that the Italian is pliable and is willing to learn. He is thrifty, industrious, and often artistic and is lacking in that spirit of "rowdyism" that is prevalent in some of the classes of our so-

ciety. We cannot say therefore in the face of these facts that the Italian is detrimental to our social welfare.*

PLEASURES—In character the "trade" type represents most truly the austere type. What avocations they have are apt to have a moral coloring. These individuals consider themselves immensely superior to the individuals composing the "tenement" or "settlement" types whose occasional infractions of the law are pointed to as disgracing the Italian name or stock from which they are sprung. To their children they point out how little America cares. Possibly this class feels that they have not been given a fair chance. All excesses of conviviality among themselves as well as with others are frowned upon. This is the class of the Italian-speaking people that frequent the theatres which give whatever Italian plays are to be seen in New York City. Baseball and basketball is unknown or certainly not practised. Sometimes the Italian game of "Boccie" is indulged in. This is a very simple game and requires no skill or dexterity save that gained in throwing a ball with one hand. Pleasures of a moral tone are appreciated more. They like to read religious magazines and periodicals and are often ardent workers for the church and Sunday School. This form of activity keeps them constantly among their own kind and does not permit them to go out and mingle with others. As they themselves are not to be changed in habits and in mind, their conduct serves to inevitably repel others who either are not of a like kind or susceptible to their influence.

TYPE OF MIND—When we come to classify the "trade" class according to type of mind we meet with a difficult problem. This is so because they do not fall clearly within any one of the four classifications made here. The individuals within it present a cross between the dogmatic-emotional and the critical-intellectual types with the greater emphasis perhaps on the former. Beliefs and ideas are subjectively determined by the

* Douglas, David W.—"The Effect of the Southern Italian on American Society. 1915.

mood they happen to be in. Sheer perseverence will cause such an one to hold on to first beliefs whether right or wrong. Often though, they are apt to be originally critical of a proposition presented to them and subject it to an analysis showing the greatest latitude of view, clear perception, sound judgment and careful reasoning. But while all such mental processes are possible, they do not always hold. Of a moralizing strain this type is more apt to let emotion and feeling rule so that sheer dogmatism makes it impossible for them to keep the "open mind."

With them emotions are strong but are blended with their beliefs and partisan convictions. Such convictions are tenacious and a dominant factor in their mental make-up. When such an individual has taken an unequivocal stand on a proposition, he becomes intolerant. With all this is accompanied a huge dash of idealism. It is with this type of mind that the "benefit" idea is strong. The benefit organizations are most numerous among this type. In a measure also the adult immigrant fraternal organizations, immigrant banks, and foreign language newspapers derive all of the little support they have from Americans of Italian extraction from within this subdivision.

It is this type of mind also that instances a degree of appreciation closely resembling the "intellectual" type that Dr. Jones failed to observe and which led him to the mistaken statement that it did not exist.* The reason for this was that he failed to distinguish between the adult Italian who has become Americanized, and the American of Italian extraction not far enough removed from Italian culture to be distinguishable as offering any different degree of appreciation.

The "trade" or "business" type, while the second largest group numerically among the Italian-speaking population of New York City affects least of any of our American life and social institutions. It is the least Americanized of the four main mental groups observable in New York City today.

* Jones—"Sociology of a City Block," p. 69.

CHAPTER XIII

THE "Y. M. C. A." AND "COLLEGE" TYPE

(A TRANSITIONAL TYPE)

BACKGROUND—It can truly be said that the hope of America so far as the descendants of its immigrants are concerned lies with Americans of the second and subsequent generations and not with the immigrant himself. Speaking for the Italian strain we come now to a type that is distinctly different from the two classes previously discussed. The "college" type of Italian speaking American is distinctive because for the first time we meet thru him a stratum of social life in the Italian speaking colony of New York City that is not subnormal. Of the three million or more of people of Italian origin within our borders the interpreters of this great mass must come from within this so-called "college-group." Just as the hope of the new China lies with the Chinese students of the growing generation, essentially a transitional type, who are studying in our American schools and universities, so in a certain sense likewise, it is this class of "college" Italian-speaking Americans that is the hope of Italy. For it is upon such chosen individuals as these that the responsibility for transmitting a national contribution, lies; and to them we must look for the interpretation of the social, intellectual, and moral heritage of this stock they represent.

Italian-speaking Americans representative of previous types have shown how little was to be expected of them because of their limited opportunities and how because of these limitations they have not been able to reach for or even to know the best that *real* America afforded. In the case of the individuals now reached this does not hold. In one sense, at least, namely that of education, they are on a level with Americans of other descents. A comparative survey of the reactions of such individuals will point out in an informing way how this type is developing.

One distinctive outstanding feature here is the nature of the institution with which they are connected. The Y. M. C. A., high school, or college point out decidedly how transitional a stage is represented in the individuals with which we have now to deal. As yet they have not separated themselves fully and completely from institutions where their attitude is chiefly one of receptivity. Time will have yet to tell, when as a class, sufficiently numerous, such individuals go out, whether they will put forth and evidence those striking qualities of leadership, resourcefulness and initiative in an American or transplanted environment, which have been true of the Italian nature of old.

The physical background for this type is considerably improved over that of the two groups previously described in that a greater measure of contact with what is best in American life and most true of representative American institutions is afforded. The Y. M. C. A. and the college both permit these Americans to imbibe the unalloyed spirit of Americanism in such degree as is possible in a cosmopolitan centre like New York. This, to begin with, is a highly selective factor. For instance the economic opportunity for this group is vastly different. Membership in the Y. M. C. A. costs $20 per annum and must be paid in advance. Tuition in college is anywhere from $100 to $200 per annum apart from the necessary incidentals for books, and exclusive of food and rent. This operates as a bar, and a selective process begins. Next the general setting of the Y. M. C. A., its cultural atmosphere and even spiritual emphasis, the college with its campus, its stress on class routine, abstract training and discipline are other effective weeders-out. The settlement type sometimes is graduated into the Y. M. C. A. (but more often is not) and sometimes the winner of a Phi Beta Kappa key has had a background of "street" culture of several years length to his credit. But more often the transition is too abrupt and so is not made. In some ways the settlement so pauperizes and the Y. M. C. A. so patronizes that the free and easy passage or the feeding of individuals step by step from the lower to the higher insti-

tution is not made. This condition also reflects to be sure, basic differences of mental modes and gives pause to one inclined towards overstressing the factors of environment and opportunity, as over against heredity.

It would be difficult to say how different are the home conditions of members of this type from those of the preceding unless in each case a separate investigation were made. Both extremes are represented, the very well-to-do Italian home and the poor, squalid and overcrowded one. It is safe to say that the majority of homes of members of this type have as the chief wage-earner a skilled workman rather than an unskilled laborer. If the home represented by such an individual is that of the well-to-do Italian, one is not unlikely to find that the parent has had a good education in Italy, and is either a business man or practising a profession; if the home represents the other extreme, the wage-earner is more apt to be a skilled barber or tailor or musician rather than a ditch-digger, street-cleaner, mine laborer or hod carrier.

Because in the main, the high-school type, of which there are thousands now in New York City, is everything that the college type represents, in embryo, and with the same traits only less accentuated and developed, we will discuss the chief traits of this latter class only and mean it to include a large portion of the younger Americans of Italian extraction studying in the different high-schools and even business schools of this city.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS — The physical characteristics of this type afford little indication of their racial ancestry. There is a tendency toward dark complexions and shortness of stature, but the features while of a foreign cast are difficult to define readily as Italian. One might very easily mistake them for the Spanish or various South American types that are becoming more frequent. The similarity to the Greek countenance is also marked. On the whole they are careful of their clothes and spend a good deal of time on this detail. The excellent formal discipline to which they are being subjected, makes for a mind that, as a

rule, has ideas logically correlated and unified. Their disposition is aggressive while their ages serve many times to make them impulsive in action. It is a type that sets fashions. Comparing them with other Americans of Italian extraction it would be nearest the truth to say that they are of a creative disposition, for they lead where the others follow. Dr. Jones in saying that the Italian stays on the two lower mental levels (ideo-motor and ideo-emotional) had in mind the "tenement" type which was the only type he investigated and possibly even referred to the fathers or *immigrants.* At any rate such was the only type he uncovered when he made his sociological investigation of a New York City Block more than a decade ago. It is evident that when Dr. Jones wrote his dissertation at Columbia, he failed to meet one of the handful of individuals who could be classed by him as being of a creative disposition and who happened to be studying there; today however, more than 250 names in the Columbia catalogue alone can be counted as eligible to such classification.

In character these individuals are apt to be of a convivial type but the nature of the years or ages at which we find them serves to discount this generalization somewhat. As a matter of fact, what we do find, all things considered, is an unusually large strain of seriousness probably because so large a percentage find it necessary to rely on other means than parental support for continuance in their present most engaging business, namely that of getting an education. It is difficult to say whether as a class their reactions in mental matters are slow or quick. However such reactions are for the most part voluntary and tend somewhat towards being individualistic. In reasoning they are as careful as the average both of the premises and the logic in question at issue, there being nothing in race as such operating as a deterrent or otherwise.

COOPERATION—These Americans of Italian extraction do not feel themselves to be different from other Americans. Of course they say they are conscious of their Italian ancestry. One generation never can absolutely remove them from this. In some cases they

even try to hide it. On the whole this difference does not, to their mind, serve to set them off as a class apart. Their pleasures and their work are exactly similar in all respects to those of other peoples and are dictated by an economic and mental rather than by a racial background. Towards strangers their attitude is one of perhaps unusual cordiality because "lit" up by their Latin warmth. In sympathy they are quick to respond and the college American of Italian extraction is continually giving to benefits and other forms of charitable movements. There is this one difference to be noted, he gives *more* if such are for Italians. The Italian Circolo movement is an attempt to secure recognition for these individuals as a *class;* as *individuals* recognition is secured by their participation in college and campus activities. So thoroly acclimated is this American to the whole social and intellectual background of college life that no big feature worthy of mention exists among them that is based upon pure race lines. Our conviction therefore, is that their "consciousness-of-kind" concerning race at any rate, is eclipsed by their desire for recognition, or "consciousness-of-kind" as members of a larger group, that is, the college or the university. No persistent or well-defined cooperation among these individuals is discernible as a class. Such efforts are thrown into the general melting pot of efforts contributed towards by all the differently blooded Americans attending the same school and for the same general purpose. Their "Italianism" is subordinated to their Americanism. And so by the nature of both the objective and subjective conditions that exist, these Americans of Italian extraction instance no cooperation of a narrow or inclusive fashion that would distinguish them as different from other Americans.

PLEASURES—All honors whether athletic, social or scholastic are thrown open to them on an equal footing. Specific achievements by members of this group are described in the section on Social Organization. The one pleasure indulged in as a group that serves to set them apart is along dramatic lines. This follows from the difference in the language. An Italian play is annually

given by the Circolo at Columbia, City College and Hunter College. This play is given in the native tongue. Its greatest value, it seems to the writer who has seen these rehearsed and given for the past six years, is social in character. In this one solitary group activity the college American of Italian origin follows out truly what a goodly portion of the contributors towards the symposium in a later chapter shows him to possess, namely "a sense of dramatic and artistic values." The annual Italian plays at Barnard and Columbia are said to be among the very best of the language plays given on college campuses. Again true to this type or perhaps more because in this their option is limited, the plays invariably given are plays stressing sensory and emotional values and show high conviviality. All this illustrates the gay strain of the Italian. In his choice of plays this individual is neither to be praised nor blamed, for fully ninety percent of all plays written in Italian follow this vein.

TYPE OF MIND—For this group motor impulses are strong and instincts and passions are often swayed by desires as well as convictions. This is to say, the Italian nature causes one to desire strongly and passionately, be it athletic or scholastic honors, and follows directly from the tense character of Italian fibre. In many cases this intensity of nature makes them do foolish things and many times their valor like that of other school-boys is that due to ignorance.

The mental responses of the "college type" are prompt but whether persistent is a mooted question. At times they are apt to be domineering, arising from the fact that they feel this is part of one who is college-bred. On this point we notice a difference from the average. Giddings found the mass of Mediterranean stock "to be instigative rather than domineering and while leisure-loving, not indolent and used 'instigation' rather than 'dominancy' to accomplish their ends."* Often these individuals possess a relative abundance of ideas, tho these ideas are loosely organized around a vocabulary

* Giddings, F. H., Descriptive and Historical Sociology, p 210.

greater than that of which they are the master. Italian loquacity is made apparent. It is not possible to say with any degree of accuracy just how scrupulous they are with respect to immoral indulgences. The only safe guide here is the individual. True to their age many will attack a problem with insufficient deliberation, and this may seem to mark them as capricious. This tho is more apparent than real. Capriciousness which is to be distinguished from "impulsiveness" and sensitivity to high emotion, is not an Italian trait.

On the whole it can fairly be accepted that these individuals making up approximately 1.5 percent of the entire Italian speaking population of the younger generation in New York City, are proceeding at a rate of development commensurate with their economic standing. As economic conditions become better for the average Italian family—the children will, in increasing numbers, go to the high-schools of this city instead of going immediately to work, or trust to evening schools, to complete their schooling. Subjecting added numbers to a relatively longer period of formal academic discipline will greatly increase the frequency of this type.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROFESSIONAL TYPE

INTRODUCTION—It is difficult to put down here anything that, racially distinctive, would distinguish this type from the professionally employed American of other descents and which would serve to mark it off as being in very many ways radically different. In fact there seems to be little, if anything, in the way of psychological peculiarities when compared to other stocks that might be mentioned. It is true that differences such as vowel endings to the name, a swarthy skin, brown eyes, and dark color of hair, possibly a tendency to understature — if anthropometrically plotted — would show a resulting curve with a preponderance of these above physical characteristics on the side of this professionally employed American; or possibly one even would be able to show in such individuals a tendency towards greater usage of hands accompanying speech, in many cases even violent gesticulation and besides a greater frequency in loss of temper; that perhaps associated with this trait is the tendency towards a quicker changing of mind and emotion; or even that this is more apt to be associated with superficial moods. But one scarcely can say that these are indices of mental inferiority, or even that they are indices more truly indicating the "race" rather than the "individual." Certainly the well-accepted psychological tenet that "intra-group are greater than inter-group" differences would tend to make one disbelieve this. As Todd says "to base a theory—on certain assumed inherent differences of racial character or constitution is incautious; for greater variations of skull formation, brain weight, mental and physical capacity are able to be found between members of the same ethnic group than between separate ethnic stocks."* Whether a lawyer, or a doctor, or a teacher, in the main, if such an individual has secured the greater part of his or her

* Todd, A. J. Theories of Social Progress, p. 279.

training in this country no appreciable differences exist, worth mentioning, that would serve to justify us in discriminating either for or against that type as being something "sui generis." If it is true that a heightened susceptibility to mental, emotional and physical changes exists with these people, it does not warrant the assumption made by Dr. Jones that along with such changes go an analogous tendency to be superficial in their thinking. It is true that the lawyer is apt to have a clientele in which the percentage of those having Italian names predominates, and that a like condition exists with that of the doctor. But such a condition is to be noted as being equally true of the American lawyer of native parentage and the physician of Jewish, Bohemian, German and other extractions. The real way of judging whether a difference exists at all is to determine whether such individuals fit into the life of those people, whatever generation or extraction they be, we call to mind when we think of AMERICAN. This as judged by the institutions effected by them and described in Part IV, Social Organization, they apparently do.*

BACKGROUND—The membership rolls of three representative professional organizations of this class, the Circolo Nazionale, The Italian Teachers' Association and the Italian Educational League show a distribution of members according to residence as follows:

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFESSIONALLY EMPLOYED ITALIANS ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE

Borough	Italian Teachers Association	Italian Educational League	Circolo Nazionale
Manhattan	42	82	108
Bronx	31	38	62
Brooklyn	25	52	94
Queens	12	28	21
Richmond	4	3	12
Out of Town	18	55	27

This class then is not located in any one spot, but is

* Racial differences do exist. Americans of Italian extraction of both the "tenement" and "professional" types evidence a marked tendency towards an exceptional demonstrativity but that because of this, reasoning is any the less or inferior even, remains yet to be settled.

scattered throughout the city. Fully 70 per cent of the lawyers are located in the heart of the office district downtown. The Italian-speaking doctors we find scattered throughout the Italian sections of the city, usually in the section where they have grown up and where they now practise their profession. The numbers vary according to the density of the colony. Thruout New York City there are approximately four hundred doctors compared to about six hundred lawyers of Italian origin. The members of the Italian Teachers' Association are scattered most promiscuously and domiciled in no way as could be shown to connect up with their place of work. The same condition exists for the membership distribution of the Circolo Nazionale. The background therefore for the professionally employed American can be said to be as typically American as is possible in a cosmopolitan center like New York.

For this class of people very few indeed, if any at all, are not citizens. The writer knows of none excepting a few who have secured their professional training abroad and have come here fully matured in mind and habit. Such individuals, however, are not intended for inclusion in this study. For the most part then this class of professionally employed people have either been born here or have lived here the greater part of their lives. Certainly, a lawyer or a doctor or a teacher trained in Italy rarely practises his or her profession among Americans of Italian extraction. Should such practise be indulged in by any such it usually is confined to Italian immigrants who have in no way been gripped by American influences. In the homes of the majority of this professional American the culture influences are those of the younger and not of the older generation, primarily because the chief wage-earner now is American. These Americans fit themselves and enter into American life and culture with ease and are welcomed. In no way is their mode of living radically different from that which obtains among Americans of other descents. In feeling, in speech and in action surely no such differences exist.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS—In disposition

undoubtedly the creative type predominates, a characteristic dictated by class not by race. Their training permits these individuals to think for themselves. It was this type of individual, even among the adult, evidently that Dr. Jones ran across and "found in House No. 211, and four others filled with Italians of the more deliberately-minded kind, German-like Italians from the north of Italy."* What Dr. Jones mistakingly calls "deliberately-minded kind" of Italians are in reality Americans of Italian extraction belonging to what I have termed the "professional" type.

In character these resemble individuals within the classification labelled by Giddings as the "rationally conscious" or individuals who are aware of the nature, purpose and intent of their actions both individually and collectively. Their actions because of the responsible character of the work they perform are to be designated as of a "conscious" kind and not narrowing as is apt to be the case when we considered the vocations of the "trade" or "business" type.

COOPERATION—It is the business of this professional class, among their other work, to be occupied with providing for the civic, educational, moral and physical welfare work that is conducted among the people from which they themselves have sprung. The problems such as these individuals of the professional class meet in their daily tasks require the exercise of original judgment, initiative and considerable tact. Furthermore their survival in the competitive struggle within the sphere of professional activity which engages them is dependent upon the display of just such qualities as resourcefulness, deliberation, good judgment and logical thinking — all characteristics that typify the "critical-intellectual" type of mind as expounded by Professor Giddings.

Consequently in their work for their people as well as in the practice of their professions such individuals are being constantly thrown in contact with Americans

*Jones, Thomas J. Sociology of a New York City Block, p. 25.

of all descents. In no way is it possible to distinguish in these contacts any feeling or sense of difference be-because of race. Perception of resemblances is marked by the wider sphere of similar mental modes and not similar racial backgrounds. It is not uncommon to find Jewish lawyers with a heavy Italian following. On the middle East Side and in Brooklyn are springing up lawyers of Italian blood with almost an entirely Jewish clientele. Likewise the Italian teacher is often found in a public school frequented largely by Jewish children and vice versa. Cooperation for individuals of this class has broken completely beyond the confines of race. Their attitude towards strangers is one of the best indications of this. Future contacts with any such follow individual tastes, determined by volition and choice apart from any identity of descents or extractions. A harmony of musical, professional, social, or educational interests will in their cases prove more binding than nationality.

TYPE OF MIND—The real way to test whether or not an effective consciousness-of-kind has been or is being developed among this class is to take the individual and subject him to personal and specific tests. This manifestly is impossible. An alternative is to ascertain what positions involving leadership have fallen to this type, therefore instancing a process not delimited by race lines. This alternative consists in picking out those individuals who by virtue of opportunity and training have become leaders. To do this is not difficult. Practically in every field of endeavor, whether in the social, educational, political or economic life of this city, some place of prominence has been achieved by Americans of Italian blood. And yet to be able to point out a strong class "consciousness-of-kind" among these leaders would be at the same time to point out how ineffectively is going on the process of our national synthetization among them.

If "consciousness-of-kind" as measured by Dr. Jones is a steady and swift aggregation of like individuals, Americans of Italian extraction do not possess this trait

in common with their earlier predecessors, for they do not flock together in any noticeable manner, as the tabulations offered on page 111 show. Dr. Jones' figures in the table below, gathered for a period of four years are indicative of the condition not affecting the American of Italian origin, but the adult immigrant who has but recently arrived. He says on this point: "The adult Italian not long in this country both by necessity of knowing but one language and of economic pressure is constrained to live in the Italian quarter, viz:

ITALIAN ELEMENT IN EACH HOUSE EACH YEAR

	HOUSE NUMBERS					
Years	211	213	215	217	219	223
1895	—	12	—	16	—	10
1897-1898	1	5	—	—	—	10
1898-1899	3	12	13	11	9	14
1899-1900	8	13	15	13	14	2

His comment on these figures is "the mental attitude of the Italian in withdrawing to himself is not due to a perception of mental differences and resemblances. The other nationalities have been longer in America and are to some extent assimilated. They have often attained to a relatively high prosperity. They do not like to receive into their own tenement houses groups whose families are so near the economic margin of subsistence that they are willing to resort to any kind of work, to live in any sort of way and to chop the stair banisters for fuel. On the other hand the Italian immigrants being unable to talk with English-speaking nationalities or with Germans are compelled to speak their own language."*

As the distribution of residences for the members of the three largest and most typical organizations of this class of Americans show, the very antithesis of the above is to be noted. Theirs is not a "consciousness-of-kind" that permits these individuals to flock together in a swift and steady aggregation" but rather their American spirit coupled with their training and better economic opportunities causes them to expand and move out and settle

* Jones, Thomas Jesse. Sociology of a New York City Block.

in communities widely different in their form from anything to which their parents are accustomed.

Whether or not there is a strong and well developed "consciousness-of-kind" can best be stated rather than measured by a description of the activities of the Italian-speaking colonies within this city and this we do in the next few chapters. One will readily see that to separate the activities of such individuals from the country of their adoption is impossible so that any reliable and quantitative index of a "consciousness-of-kind" is not possible. At the same time one can see that no complete separation of such individuals from the influences of the country of their ancestors either exists or is desirable.

DISTRIBUTION OF "TYPES OF MIND" AMONG AMERICANS OF ITALIAN EXTRACTION

in

NEW YORK CITY

CLASS OF INDIVIDUAL	COMPOSITION OF MENTAL "MODES"						SIZE	
	Type of MIND	Type of DISPOSITION	Type of REASONING	Type of PLEASURES	Type of CHARACTER	Nature, Form and Extent of CO-OPERATION	Number	Percent
"tenement"	ideo-emotional	instigative	conjectural imaginative	motor-sensory	convivial	involuntary instinctive, narrow	340,000	85*a*
"trade" or "business"	dogmatic-emotional	domineering	deductive (speculative)	emotional-ideation	austere	semi-involuntary imitative (belief) limited	50,000	12.5*b*
"Y. M. C. A." or "college"	critical-intellectual	aggressive	analogical inductive	inductive-ideation	convivial forceful	largely voluntary also imitative normal	6,000	1.5*c*
"professional"	critical-intellectual	creative	inductive (critical of premises as well as of logic)	inductive-ideation	rationally conscious	largely voluntary (judgment) broad	4,000	1.0*c*

1. The numbers given are approximate, and the classifications used follow those by Franklin H. Giddings, vide Inductive Sociology passim.

a. 29.2% the prevalence of this mental mode as found by Giddings for the entire population of the United States (vide Physchological Review, Vol. 8, No. 4, July 1901, pp. 337-49).

b. 19.3% (ibid)

c. 1.6% (ibid)

CHAPTER XV

THE ITALIAN-SPEAKING COLONY IN NEW YORK CITY

INTRODUCTION—The Italian-speaking colony in New York City divides itself sharply into two groups, roughly called in this connection the "older" and the "younger" generations. It would not be amiss to say that for the most part those individuals making up the "older" generation secured their training or schooling in Italy; a scant fifth came to America while very young, possibly even in their teens. This is not to say that they are any less American. The "younger" generation on the other hand was born here and constitutes a thorough product of American life and American institutions.

Unquestionably there are many prominent Americans of Italian blood that are not mentioned here in the following pages. In many cases some of these are even better known than are those whose names one will meet with in this writing. Those that are included here have come to the writer's personal attention and he can therefore present accurate facts with respect to their affiliation to the life of the Italian colony in the city.

OLD GENERATION—Some notable religious figures are noticeable both among the Catholic and Protestant sects within the ranks of the "older" generation today. Representing the Catholics there is the Very Reverend Mgr. Gherardi Ferranti, Vicar General of the Italian work in this diocese; the Reverend Dr. Grivetti who has made an enviable reputation for himself through his efficient handling of the New York office of the Italica Gens; Father Magliocco, whose wonderful singing and musical training mark him off as one apart from all others in his line; the very pious Father Coppo, Provincial of the Salesian Order, who recently celebrated his silver jubilee; and lastly the silver-tongued orator, Father Silipigni is to be noted.

The Protestants likewise have some men of marked ability. There is the Rev. Antonio Arrighi who has given

a life-time in the work of uplifting his people and whose reminiscences are contained in his happy little volume "Life of a Drummer Boy with Garibaldi"; the Rev. Fenili, trained not only in an Italian university, but also a graduate of Columbia and with an erudition that is exceptional; Rev. Antonio Mangano whose wonderful little book "Sons of Italy" is the last word in regard to the religio-social situation as it exists in the Italian colonies in America, also an individual who has a foot not only in the older civilization, but also in the new; the scholarly Dr. Perazzini who wrote a book for the Columbia University "Studies in Comparative Literature" and is Director of the Italian work for the White Bible school in this city; the Rev. Riggio, Grand Master of the Jerusalem Lodge of Masons; and so the list could go on if we had space.

In portrait painting quite some art sense is manifest—witness Bertieri, Moretti, Piccirilli.

In education or teaching the names are far too numerous to mention. Some are Prof. Racca, Prof. Costa, formerly Assistant Director of the Italian Bureau of Information, Dr. Cosenza, Director of the Townsend Harris Hall School; Prof. Camera, Dr. Panarone, Dr. Ettari, all of City College; Prof. Boselli of Vassar, formerly with the Italian Army; Prof. Bigongiari of Columbia, who likewise fought for Italy; and Prof. Enrico Cadorin, famous also as an artist. This list does not exhaust them.

This section would be incomplete however, if we were to leave out the few school principals of Italian blood that New York City has. There is first of all Angelo Patri, author and social worker, principal of one of the largest Gary schools in New York City. Mr. Patri has just written two books on educational administration that are under advisement for possible use by the Federal authorities; Mr. Pugliesi, principal of the largest representative public school of Italian-speaking children downtown, and also a product of Columbia University. Miss Cafferata and Mrs. Defarrari-Weygandt are names that speak for themselves.

To three men of Italian blood at least it has been given to wear the ermine. The best known of all is Justice John J. Freschi of the Court of Special Sessions, who has behind him an unmatched record of years of faithful service in Italian welfare work in New York City, honored with a decoration by the King of Italy and an honorary degree from New York University; Judge Louis Valenti, a product of New York City schools, was recently elected to the City Court; and lastly F. X. Mancuso whose work in connection with the Waite case earned for him a magistracy and who bids fair to climb higher.

In law it is difficult to pick and make choices because whatever choices are made some are sure to be slighted. Perhaps the oldest practitioner of Italian blood in New York City is Astarite; Paul Yasselli, assistant to the District Attorney for the Southern District of New York (formerly captain in the United States Army) is a man of parts; and Stefano Miele, Grande Venerabile of the Order of the Sons of Italy is a name to conjure with. Other names that have secured public recognition are ex-Judge Palmieri and Michael Rofrano, ex-Deputy Street Cleaning Commissioner.

In medicine it is possible to name some very notable figures. Of these one of the best known is unquestionably Antonio Stella, President of the Roman Legion. Dr. Stella's well-known researches in the socio-economic conditions of Italian-speaking people in New York City, and particularly his work along the line of tuberculosis have secured for him a well-merited recognition that extends beyond local confines; five thousand Saint Filesians swear by Dr. Tomasulo, who practises on the lower West Side; Dr. Righi of Washington Place has a claim to our attention, likewise Drs. Scimeca, Previtalis, Cassola, De Vecchi, D'Iserina, Collica, Legiardi-Laura, Menna, Osnato, Siragusa, Antonna. Dr. Rossano of East Harlem is exceedingly well known. Dr. Pisani, former member of the Board of Education is one of the best known doctors of Italian blood in New York City, and has a broad liberal viewpoint in socio-economic affairs extending beyond that of his own people. Dr.

Savini is one of the most successful surgeons and has an enviable reputation secured in part thru his successful operation and management of the Washington Square Hospital. Doctors Soresi and Parodi combine skill and learning to an unusual degree, the one in the field of surgery and the other in the general field of medicine. Dr. J. W. Perrilli is exceedingly well liked. He is president of the Italian Hospital and a member of the Board of Trustees of Bellevue and Allied Hospitals. Dr. C. J. Imperatori, on the Bellevue staff, is one of the best surgeons here. Few are his peers in skill and learning. During the war he served as a lieutenant-colonel with the American Expeditionary Forces. As a laryngolist his articles in the medical journals are read with great attention and respect. Dr. Imperatori has set a mark in his profession which, for Italian students in particular, is worthy of emulation.

Social work is best represented by Mrs. Deferrari-Weygandt, whose forty years as Principal of the Italian School have given her an unparalleled opportunity to see pass in review before her the remarkable changes in economic welfare and social uplift that have gone apace with the incoming of so many thousands of Italian-speaking children in the lower part of the city. Likewise Miss Cafferata, Head Probationer for New York City has been thru a life-time of work that brought her into intimate contact with Italian-speaking people. Mrs. Zunino, wife of the wealthy manufacturer, has given and today gives unstintingly of both time and money to philanthropic and welfare movements. Mr. Pizzarra, Superintendent of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children of this city and Treasurer of the Circolo Nazionale Italiano is an extremely well-liked individual, old in the life of this city. Recently Mary A. Frasca was appointed by Mayor Hylan a member of the Board of Child Welfare. Miss Frasca is one of the best informed persons on social and economic conditions among Italians in this city and a splendid worker.

In business choices again are difficult, the best known being Celestino Piva, whose munificent bequests make possible the Italian Hospital; Gerli, Luigi Solari, Zunino,

Personeni, Scaramelli, President of the Italian Chamber of Commerce, Romeo, Paterno, Bosca, DeNobili, A. Ferrara and Antonio Zucca. Cav. A. Portfolio, one of the youngest of the older generation came here as a young boy and speedily made a great reputation as a successful business man. But more important perhaps is another distinction that has attached itself to his name. Here is one of the older generation that has succeeded in gripping completely the American viewpoint in all things and his contributions to social welfare and educational enterprises among both Americans and Italians alike bring him high esteem. A recent contribution by him to the Italian Intercollegiate Association has served to make possible a wide scope of usefulness for this organization. The Di Giorgio brothers are also very prominent in the Italian business life of this city. They are well liked and Italians are proud of their wonderful achievements.

In banking, the two names Lionello Perera, 62 Wall Street, and Joseph Francolini,* President of the Italian Savings Bank stand out prominently. Large private banks are scattered everywhere and are numerous. Giannini, Sbarbaro, Bernardini, Verrilli and Liccione are names of repute attesting honesty and integrity and inspiring confidence wherever heard.

In finance and economics Prof. Vittorio Racca easily is in the lead, having made special studies on the socio-economic conditions in the Balkans for several European governments. Dr. Bonaschi, executive secretary of the Roman Legion, also is well equipped in this connection.

Among the newspaper men the names of Barsotti and Frugone rank high; the former because of Il Progresso, the latter because of Il Bollettino. Cantelmo of Il Giornale Italiano and Il Telegrafo is exceedingly well known. Roversi of La Follia, and Dr. Vincent Campora of Columbus have also large followings. Dr. Campora publishes a very effective and interesting monthly magazine. Personeni has put forth Il Cittadino; Di Biasi has scored a wonderful success with Il Carroccio which is the leading periodical of its kind in the United States; Mr. Toledo

* Deceased.

also publishes a very successful little paper; Captain Marinelli earned some recognition with L'Italia and finally Mr. Calitri with his paper and Mr. Pasella with his paper La Sardegna are worthy of mention. Recently Pidala has put forth a monthly magazine called The Promptor which aims to cover a wide cultural field. To these names must be added that of Giordano, who has recently acquired control of Il Bollettino. Mr. Giordano and his brothers are doing a great service in interpreting Italy to Americans. Great things are expected of them. Nor is Dr. Marcucci of Il Progresso to be forgotten.

In sociology and public affairs above all others stands Dr. Felice Ferrero, formerly Director of the Italian Bureau of Public Information in New York City. Dr. Ferrero has a grip on the matters that come within his province which makes it possible for him to speak both eloquently and convincingly. The late Carlo Speranza of Columbia was a figure which, now missing, represents an irreparable loss; Dr. Alberto Pecorini of the Springfield International College is an author of repute; Prof. Dino Bigongiari of Columbia is well-versed in the lore of Dante as is also his cousin Gino Bigongiari; Enrico Cadorin has won prominence as an artist as well as teacher; Prof. Arbib-Costa is equalled by few and has written a text-book in Italian representing the last word in matters of its kind; Prof. Sergio has made a name for himself in private teaching. The present Consul-General, Romolo Tritonj is a scholar as well as a diplomat and he brings to his work a marked native ability that has earned for him the respect of all who have come in contact with him. It is not too much to say that he has been the most well liked and effective representative sent to us by the Italian government. Italy would do well to send others of his type to us in other cities.

In music the names are so numerous that only a few may be mentioned here. Caruso, Galli-Curci, Bonci, Titto Ruffo and Amato are best known; while in this field one can't forget Gatti-Casazza and the younger impresario Marinuzzi.

In public life New York City has a few whose names

to-day are fairly well known. Besides Judge Freschi whom we have already mentioned there is former Congressman Fiorello H. La Guardia, now President of the Board of Aldermen and recent representative of the United States Army in Italy; State Senator Salvatore Cotillo, member of the Economic Research Commission recently sent by the United States to Italy to report on after-war conditions and to interpret the Italian mind to Americans; Caesar Barra, Charles Novello, Nicholas Pette and a few others have also held public office and gained many adherents. Formerly of New York City was Henry Suzzalo, now President of the University of Washington; also outside of New York City are Antonio Caminetti, Commissioner-General of Immigration and Dr. Palmieri of the Congressional Library.

In army life a host of men have come here because of war conditions and have impressed Americans with their ability, viz., General Guglielmotti and General Tozzi, head of the Italian Military Mission.

Lieutenant D'Annunzio, brother of the famous poet, helped in the manufacture of air machines; the Caproni brothers, the late Resnati, Gino, Captain Guardabassi are among the best known. The latter is one of the most popular Italians who has ever come here.

The architect Serracino, the engineer Cavagnaro, the engineer and well known professor Prelini, of Manhattan College, whose text-books have been universally accepted as the last word in the specific fields of engineering they cover, Immediato and a host of other miscellaneous indivxiduals whom for lack of space we omit, testify to the high place that these people of Italian blood representing the older generation have made for themselves in the life of our city.

THE YOUNGER GENERATION—The younger generation today is richer in its possibilities than in its actualities. In talking about a people so much in the present as are these, the difficulty is encountered that exists when one is making statements that are constantly being changed with the passing of each day.

In religion the Catholics have the comparatively young

Mgr. Arcese of Kent Avenue, Brooklyn, who is of great promise; for the Protestants Emanuel Chiesa of Drew Seminary, winner of Phi Beta Kappa honors, prizes in the Greek language, etc., deserves mention. Rev. Sartorio won immediate distinction with his book called "Social and Religious Life of Italians in America."

In art this type is yet in its struggling stage, and while a wide smattering of art talent is distinctly visible, real and adequate opportunity for what may be called full recognition has not been given. It is true that the recent response for artistic talent to contribute to the creation of the temporary arch for returning soldiers has brought forth an abundance of talent of Italian origin. Of fifteen or more artists engaged in the designing of this arch fully eight or more than 50 per cent were of Italian-speaking parentage. For instance the Picirilli brothers were engaged on the quadriga or top of the arch, Raphael Memoni modelled its general architectural features; in various other features were engaged F. M. L. Tonelli, Ulysses Ricci, D. Tosti and Philip Martini.

The lists become full again when we come to education. In the universities are the La Guardia brothers, one at the University of Illinois, the other at the Naval Academy, both products of Columbia University and winners of the Phi Beta Kappa key; Colletti, formerly at the University of South Carolina, also holder of the Phi Beta Kappa key at Columbia and winner of the chief oratorical prize there; Tanzola, teaching in the Columbia Extension, secured the signal honor of winning both the arts and science keys in the same institution; Lipari at Toronto; Bigongari at Columbia; Di Bartolo at Syracuse, later at the University of Buffalo; Passarelli at Cincinnati; D'Amato at Shorter College; Salvatore of Stevens Institute of Technology and Furia at New York University, and Carravachiol at Polytechnic Institute in Brooklyn, are all Phi Beta Kappa men.

In the high schools of this city a galaxy of stars are noticeable, many of Phi Beta Kappa ranking. A few are Lieut. Leonardo Covello, the Lapolla brothers, de Barbaris, Salzano, Menna, Viggiani, Porcella, Toglia, Tortoro, Vessa — and so the list could be strung out.

In the public schools the list would be even larger. Those who have attained more than a local distinction are Grande, Lodato, Calitri, Negri, Penque, Marone, Vespa, Milano, Ansanelli, Mirabella, and Frabbito.

In the legal profession we see some of the young Americans of Italian extraction who unquestionably are to be leaders. Easily before them all stands F. R. Serri, winner of all the debating prizes at Yale, formerly contributing editor on the financial paper "Commerce and Finance"; Leonard Sabbatino* the versatile president of the Italian Welfare League, is also of promising material, as is Nicholas Bucci, Phi Beta Kappa at Columbia, winner of several history and English prizes, formerly on the Columbia Law Review. Sidney Masone is one who is exceptionally equipped regarding compensation laws because of his connection as assistant counsel for the Industrial Commission; La Corte of Elizabeth, New Jersey, bids fair to become a big factor in the legal life of his city; Caruso of Newark, Pascarella of Emerson, New Jersey, have all made great strides forward and undoubtedly will be prominent and indispensable in all welfare movements among Italian-speaking people of their communities. Barbieri, Cardone, Gamaldi, Di Carlo, Cerreta, Boccia, Bongiorno, Catinelli, Alacchi, Ricca, Mottola, Zerilli, Cuoco and Frank Verrilli are others. Ferdinand Pecora, Assistant District Attorney, has made an excellent reputation. Miss Grilli of the New York Bar is an enterprising worker among her people and a very effective leader.

In medicine likewise some exceptionally high-calibered men are coming thru. Representative of the newer generation is Dr. W. T. M. Liccione, winner of both the Arts and Medical Fraternity honors and an ex-president of the Columbia College Circolo Italiano, who bids fair to eclipse the average; Dr. Vincent Giliberti, also from Columbia has an unusually good reputation and is now on the staff of the Metropolitan Life; Prof. Croce of Fordham Medical College, Drs. Mistretta, Brancato, Mangione, Martoccio, Bonvicino, Orlando, John D. Verrilli, and Salvatore are to be noted.

* Recently appointed an Assistant District Attorney.

In social work the names are fewer. Ricciardi of Cornell has made some headway on the lower West Side; Marra's connection with the Richmond Hill settlement brings him some distinction; Armore, President of the Italian Intercollegiate Association has always displayed a social-mindedness beyond the ordinary; Cusimano formerly at Lenox Hill and Corsi at Harlem House are names which the future will bring to the fore again and again. In Queens, James Pasta has gained a large following and made a unique name for himself in the public as well as the social life of his community and is an individual from whom great things are expected.

In business Marie Frugone daughter of the former owner of Il Bolletino is tireless. In "advertising" the name Malisfini attracts great attention and is exceedingly well known. The two Conti brothers from Columbia are now in business.

In banking few of the younger generation are worthy of mention because they have drawn so far apart from the immigrant class that they do not command the necessary confidence to attract savings. Again those that could enter this profession are relatively few because of the necessity for an initial capital. Of the newer generation, however, most important is the fact that few could enter this business among their own people and not feel misplaced, because of the un-American agencies operating within the immigrant colonies to-day the immigrant bank is one of the most important. Two names however that might be mentioned for this class are Antonio Giovanazzi and Victor Salvatore who is manager of the Dykman Street branch of the Corn Exchange Bank. The first instances a case of "rapprochement" with the "old generation"; the second a complete break from it. Recently Cotellesse and Garibaldi La Guardia have gone into this field.

The recent war has brought to the fore the aviators Lieut. Gaipa from Rutgers, Lieut. Zunino from Princeton, Vaccaro from Harvard, and Aimee from Columbia. Major Laguardia and Captain Laguardia have both been mentioned before.

In sculpture, Victor Salvatore has carved out a field

for himself which brings him an unusual social as well as professional distinction. He first began to win distinction at the age of fourteen, when at the St. Louis Exposition he was picked by St. Gaudens first in a field of many competitors and awarded first prize.

In finance, both with respect to its theory and practice, Luigi Criscuolo has no peer among the younger Italian-speaking generation. His articles on the subject are taken as authoritative by Americans and Italians alike. He is the financial writer for the Independent.

In public life no place of any moment has come to the younger generation that carries any distinction which extends beyond local confines. But a character sketch of one individual who was not only of the older generation but who up to the time of his recent death was essentially engaged in his life work as a political leader among the masses of his people, marking him distinctly as belonging to the younger generation, was James E. March. A recent article in "The Sun" is quoted here at length because of the clear picture it gives of the opportunity for the rise and development of an individual that may any day be achieved by other Americans of Italian extraction at present unknown:

"James E. March, Republican leader of the Third Assembly district, who died recently, found in America the opportunity wherby he was transformed from Antonio Maggio, peasant immigrant, into an American possessing property and political power. No one ever saw Jimmy March carrying a red flag or heard him sneer at the land into which he passed as a poor boy across the "Welcome" mat at Castle Garden. Thousands of other immigrants were stimulated by this career.

"He landed in New York at the age of twelve with a harp and hopeful disposition. The city flustered him, so he struck into the country. For several years he worked for board and clothes in Lewis County, New York. His first wages he got for peddling milk in Lowville. He studied nights, passed the Regents' examination at the Lowville Academy, and in 1880, at the age of twenty, returned to New York. He found employment with the Erie Railroad, and in a short time was laying the founda-

tion for a fortune as the Erie's general contracting agent.

"March employed and supervised thousands of laborers working on the railroad. In 1882, when he was superintendent of immigrant trains he made such a hit by stopping a disastrous longshoremen's strike that $7,657 was raised for him by subscription.

"By this time Antonio Maggio had become James E. March. He got into East Side politics as a member of Tammany Hall, but after a break with the then Democratic rulers, caused by the refusal of the Irish to let Italians hold office, he went over to the Republicans and took his following along. He became Republican leader of the old Sixth Assembly district, now the Third, which on the Democratic side was ruled by the Sullivans. Gov. Roosevelt made him Port Warden in 1899, in which period March was credited with controlling the Italian-born vote on the entire East Side. He was charged with extortion in connection with the employment bureau he conducted, but was acquitted. He said his political enemies fabricated the accusation, altho License Commissioner Keating called him "the Kingpin of Italian padrones."

"The trouble did not affect his political popularity, for of the thirty-nine Presidential Electors for New York State chosen in the Roosevelt-Parker campaign of 1904 Jimmy March got the highest vote 859,533.

"March had other stormy days which he weathered. The county president of his own Republican party, Herbert Parsons, taxed him in 1908 with being too friendly with the Tammany Sullivans and refused to allow the men selected by March to act as inspectors on registration day. But presently Parsons vanished from the political stage and March continued to rule his district as of old.

"Thru the James E. March Association and in other ways March spent a good deal of money on charity. He was a member of the Republican and Catholic clubs and the Elks. He had much to do with making Columbus Day a legal holiday."

March came to know Roosevelt so well that the ini-

mitable Colonel was godfather to one of his children. If March had had behind him a systematic education he would unquestionably have risen to a position of national prominence eclipsed by no other individual of Italian blood in America either of the past or in the present.

RELATION BETWEEN THE "OLD" AND "NEW" GENERATIONS—Frankly stated there is no coming together between the "older" and "newer" generations. There are many reasons for this. The one big difference is that of the difference in culture. A little less important perhaps is the element of language. A third reason that may be mentioned, is the great disparity in ages. For the most part the type indicated as belonging to the older generation does its business in the Italian language and with a type of peoples that was and has remained essentially Italian. The newer generation unfortunately has learned too hastily to scorn what is done or said in the language of their ancestors. Many other contributory causes might be mentioned if one wished to explain the obvious gap that exists.

The best evidence of this lack of co-operation is the way different institutions are formed to cater to the respective tastes and social needs of the two groups. There is no Dante Alighieri Society among the new generation, and their respect and sympathy for an organization of this sort is not great. Nevertheless that they have experienced the need for some such organization is seen in the Italian Intercollegiate Association—representing an attempt to bring together the best brains of the Italian element among the rising generation of Americans of Italian blood. Another instance of the "hiatus" is the Circolo Nazionale, now the Italian Metropolitan Club, by the older generation. For this organization to be a success it is necessary that they have come in with them, if not the entire rank and file of the "newer" generation, at least their leaders. For the Italian Metropolitan Club to enjoy a continued existence it is necessary that they recruit their membership from the best pick of the rising younger generation. In short it is not only expedient but necessary that the leaders of the "new" generation cooperate with the "older" so that the

membership of the younger groupings may be fed into the organizations of the older generation and thereby establish continuity in an organization that has established its right to existence by virtue of its usefulness. Unfortunately no indication for this "rapprochement" is discernible.

On the other hand what has occurred is this. The new generation feeling keenly the need for a club house that would make social intercourse possible have their plans completed for the securing of an entire building designed to fulfill their social, intellectual and recreational needs. As matters stand today these plans are fully matured and await the first favorable moment to actually materialize.

The writer who is conversant with the situation as it exists does not believe that in this split or division of factors as it were, the best values that develop thru a sane and harmonious cooperation are being secured by each group. It seems that the above condition is a preventive to any intelligent attempt to conduct any sustained cooperative action such as is necessary for success.

It appears that the old generation needs the new, and that this is the need that will continue to grow with time. Nevertheless it cannot be gainsaid that the new generation needs the old if they wish to be at all effective. There is no doubt that in this particular instance a great deal more might be done in the way of cooperation and that, measured by its fruits, the cooperative spirit among Americans of Italian extraction has netted but little that is today permanently and commendably visible. It appears that only by presenting a united front will such Americans ever be able to command respect and compel attention to the more crying needs of a social, economic, educational, recreational nature that are gapingly open in Italian districts. In doing this they would be but imitating what the older Americans of Irish, Jewish and other descents have done before them.

CHAPTER XVI

RECAPITULATION

In veiw of all the foregoing can there be said to exist an Italian psychology for these Americans of Italian lineage in America, and can it be said to be objectionable? We hear much about Italian psychology and have been impressed with its difference from our own. Have we been over-impressed? We have seen that the mental traits described above are not a thing "sui generis" with these Americans of Italian blood, but are universal. What were represented were race lines it is true, but lines cut across by individual differences. No true psychology holds that racial qualities do not exist, but neither does it make a fetish of such differences. The important thing for us here is that psychological traits are primarily individual; only when taken collectively do they become racial. Today psychologists agree that "intra-group" differences are greater than "inter-group" differences.

The traits described run through the entire gamut of possible mental reactions from the very high and most commendable to the very low and most deprecatory of all the strains that enter into American life showing "high variability" to be one of the outstanding features of the mental life of the Italian. The contention made here though, and maintained throughout is that from the standpoint of race no significant differences exist between these and other individuals of other racial descents. Races do differ. Mental and even moral differences do exist, but whether we may conclude from this that these differences denote superiority or inferiority is not the same question. It has been said that the races making up our "new" immigration (and this includes the Italian) lack the innate capacity of self-government. If this is so, then the words of Sir Horace Plunkett are apropos namely "if any race is lacking in the powers of self-government than what that race needs most is self-government."

The Irish, Italians, English and French differ in art, language, literature and science. As Giddings says, "the

Italian is notoriously a man relatively interested in the plastic arts by comparison with the Swedes or Norwegians. On the stage the Neapolitan is different from a Finn or a Dane whether you saw or heard him. As good an approach to this analysis as anything else is to mention at the beginning certain commonly noticed reactions. The Italians have been notoriously successful in painting, sculpture and art in general. Northern people are not notoriously successful in these things. Northern peoples are notoriously dramatic, emotional and imaginative; instance the great tales of Siegfried, the marvellous dramatic feelings of the Icelandic Tales, the dramatic qualities of German opera, of Wagner, Bach and of Niebelungen."

"The central people, the Slavs are almost equally notorious in literature. Especially are the great Russian novelists noted for the feelings associated with the homely affairs of life in sentimental qualities tho not in the gushy sense and the entirely different reactions toward the tragedies of life in the novels of Dostoievsky Tolstoy and Turgeneff—all differing from the Northwestern dramatists. Evidently there is no mixing of these two."

"The Irish and Welsh Tales, the Arthurian legend in England and the legendary Tales of Scotland form another different type. Nor can we easily confuse the delicate play of fancy in the fairy tales of Ireland with the play of imagination in the Danish tales and the tales of the Rhine region."

"Which is highest and which is lowest cannot be answered directly, if answered at all. The outstanding fact is that these cultures are different. Are the causes in the blood or are they due to environment and training? Psychologists are still at loggerheads in their definition of instinct. No one will disagree if we say that by instinct we mean certain complexes of reactions that are innate, that are already there and don't have to be learned by trial and error processes, and represent the equipment with which the individual is born."*

*Giddings, F. H. Lectures in Inductive Sociology (Columbia University, 1915).

If the differences we observed between races like the Italians and the Anglo-Saxon are inherited instincts in the blood, then the only way to change the American of Italian extraction is by synthetization, thru marriage; not by school systems, political parties or religious institutions. It is yet to be found whether these differences that we observed between the Italian race and other races with regard to literature, art, politics, etc., are instinctive or a result of habit.

Meanwhile it would not be unwise to continue with these peoples on the assumption that their contribution is something desirable and to assist them in every way to make it possible for them to contribute their greatest possible portion in the great task of the evolution of a stable American type.

Italy in the past has contributed mightily to the enlightenment of the world and the march of civilization. This contribution has been expressed by the editor of the National Geographic Magazine as follows: "Italy, the mother of civilization, of art and of science and the cradle of intellectual liberty began fighting the invaders from the North one thousand years before the discovery of America. She has given to the world Marcus Aurelius, Dante, Columbus, John Cabot, Leonardo De Vinci, Galileo and in more recent times Volta, Galvani, Garibaldi, Verdi and Marconi.

"Just as the new world was given to civilization by her great navigators Columbus and Cabot so were the infinite realms of space revealed to man thru the gift of the telescope from Galileo that monumental genius who also helped to perfect the compound microcospe which made modern medicine and modern chemistry possible. Likewise it was Marconi's gift of wireless telegraphy which makes the observation airplane a truly potent factor in battle."

"One of the marvels of human history is this extraordinary Italian race that for two thousand years has blessed the world with a succession of geniuses, musicians, authors, creations of inspiration and advancement from which all other people have benefited."*

* The Italian Race, National Geographic Magazine, January, 1918, p. 47.

So much for civilization, art and science. In government the same holds true. Prof. Giddings in dissipating the notions that the foundations of modern democratic society together with everything really great and worth while in our social system, political life and international influence, had their origins in the German forests and were carried over by Angles, Jutes and Saxons to England supplanting all other civilizations including Roman—declaring this to be a stupendous myth said: "that there was nothing inherent in the Teutonic system or its origins that proved adequate to creating a nation politically unified, competent and coherent. As a matter of fact no such nation was ever created until created by the genius of a man who owed nothing to the tradition and habits of Teutonic thought; that the men with him who went to the British Isles helping to create a coherent and enduring system were largely in blood Celtic and Mediterranean and were trained in the traditions of Roman political organization and Roman law and took these traditions and ideas to Brittany and evolved the whole system of Federal political organization combining centralized control with local independence and self-government, in fact the whole structure and characteristics of British Imperialism and the Federal system of the United States — all this was never dreamed of by the Teutonic mind. It was the invention of the Roman mind. If any original people were endowed with political genius it is not the English or the Teuton. It is the Italian."*

The Italian comes here and brings to our shores a strong hardihood of physique that is rarely excelled. His temperament is of that buoyant, joyful, optimistic kind that makes life at all times seem very interesting. As Dean Keppel of Columbia told the writer "the Italian is a boon companion, is always well-liked, because he is happy, optimistic, light-spirited and has that artistic intellectuality which we Americans of older generations lack and is always surprising us with his apparently in-

* Giddings, Franklin H., Columbia University Lectures—"History of Civilization," 1916.

exhaustible abundance of optimism, enthusiasm and joy of living.*

They add also a strong sympathetic nature based perhaps upon the intense appreciation of family life and family ties, the spirit of which the child of Italian parentage has had early inculcated within him. But this is not all. There is also an innate effervescent spontaneity flowing as much perhaps from the "high variability" inherent in the fundamental capacities of the race as from anything else. Italians are apt to be very good or very bad — the ratio of mediocrity is as low within this race as it is anywhere else in the world. This alone means an elevated ratio of "high variability." When we consider that human progress is measured largely by the achievements of the few at the top or upper levels — rather than by the mass compromising the average, we see the significance of the above.

We can now understand how out of this fertile soil of brilliancy, genius and inventiveness of a nervous, variable, emotional and artistic type can crop out a Dante, a Da Vinci, a Raphael, a Michael Angelo, a Galileo or coming down to more modern times a Columbus, a Cavour, and a Marconi.

Undoubtedly the capacities for entertaining the same ideas, or experiencing like emotions, of feeling similar sentiments, of striving for desirable ends, are universal. But nevertheless we think, feel and act differently as races. For the kind of proportions and degrees of relationships that obtain between combinations of different ideas and emotions "varies from individual to individual as it varies from race to race." A student of racial psychology therefore will not find his attitude with respect to the uniformity of germinal potentialities irreconcilable or even offended by the numerous patent demonstrations of individual differences existing alongside of racial characteristics. Differences intra-groups can be and perhaps are greater than differences inter-groups.

One sees that the idealistic enthusiasms of the Italian-American is something "sui-generis" and he feels as if

*Keppel, F. P.—"The Italian at Columbia." The Italian Intercollegiate, Vol. 1, p. 8.

there was more cheerfulness in it than is apparent in the usual American idealism. One reason is because it represents a freer attitude towards certain traditions of American life. Outwardly at least it contains a larger dose of healthy sentiment. It follows more closely lines of friendship and loyalty. It talks more of sympathy. Its greater passion seems more suited to general concepts and inclusive principles. It has a gaiety all its own. With a cohesivity of sentiment and yet a flexibility of motive for all that, it combines into a paradox, which only the naive nonchalance of the light-hearted Latin has been able to systematically set aside while playing with it at the risk of being crushed.

As Bagot puts this paradox, the American of Italian birth springs from a people for the most part forming a peasant class that is skeptical, suspicious, intensely shrewd and "while not infrequently egoistic yet extraordinarily disinterested and generous." *

Universal education, as we have it to-day in our American democracy, is the greatest of levellers, and the American of Italian extraction is showing by his reactions in our public school system how responsive he is to all that is really American.

* Bagot, Richard, Italians of Today, p. 36.

PART IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER XVII

INTRODUCTION

DEFINITION OF TERMS—The term "social organization" is essentially sociological and it is in this sense that is used throughout in this study. The economical, educational, political, esthetic and religious interests of a group serve to unify themselves about some central purpose or object. We speak of this object when crystallized in institutions as denoting a form of "social organization" and use it to distinguish the degree of complexity effected with all of the above elements joined and also, though only incidentally, to include the grade or merit with which we regard the associational character of any such stratum of life.

BASIS OF CLASSIFICATION—It is well to explain here the basis for the classification of the different types of organization described. In no sense is it to be understood that because an organization is listed as an "athletic club," is partakes of nothing that is of a "civic" or "religious" character. On the contrary the opposite may very well be the case. For instance the Ozanam Association is listed as a "religious club," yet to all outward appearances this club does everything that it athletic and social and nothing that is "religious."

All of the organizations to be described exist then for a multiplicity of purposes and serve their members in many different ways. A constant overlapping of function exists in all. But in every case there is some one major activity or purpose that the group as an organization is designated to promote or at least to which it owes its existence and it is this activity that serves as the basis for the classifications herein made.

It is also understood that the list of names under any one type of organization scheduled, unless so stated, is

illustrative and not exhaustive. It has been manifestly impossible to make a list that would include all of these groupings of individuals, in some cases including as few as five or six individuals, nevertheless to whom the term league or association has been applied. Often in the groups selected no outward indication exists to show that all or even the majority of the members composing it are of Italian blood.

It has been noticed that as a rule the type of organization here listed reflects closely and corresponds to the type of minds described, i. e., we find that it is the "tenement" or "settlement" type that is forming what I have termed the "athletic" and the "social" club; the "Y. M. C. A." or "college" type that is forming the "educational circolo"; and the professional type that is engaged in organizing the "welfare league" or "association." It will also be noticed that organizations are described which in structure and function are in no way similar to institutions or organizations to be found among immigrants proper. The reason for this is twofold: (1) the types of organization described are products of Americans who are operating in an American environment; (2) the aims of these organizations are diametrically opposed to the aims of immigrant institutions because they reflect the different needs and tastes of a different people.

CHAPTER XVIII

TYPES OF ORGANIZATION

THE SOCIAL CLUB

PARTICULAR GROUP—The most spontaneous and perhaps the most influential type of grouping that exists in the more thickly populated Italian colonies is the "social club." It is inevitable that individuals of the class composing the "tenement" or "settlement" type form little groups by themselves. It frequently happens that in a small area of two square blocks there may be four nuclei of groups or cliques that meet together and act for the most part independently of each other.

Each such nucleus, while all the members composing it are known to each other by sight at least, acts for all cooperative purposes as a community within a community, invariably forming itself into a club for purposes that at first, at any rate, are largely social and recreational. It would be impossible to list or even to designate the actual number of such existing groups. A good many of them have a mushroom growth — springing up over night as it were — only to pass quickly away for some slight or insignificant reason.

The writer strolled along Mulberry Street, which is the main artery of the large Italian colony downtown on the East Side and noticed placards proclaiming the existence of at least thirty such clubs as fall within this category, all within the short space of four blocks. The names of such clubs are extremely varied. Samples taken at random in the Italian colony include the Sixth Ward, Rose, Downtown, Emerson, Huskies, Caldwell, etc. Clubs forming in settlements adopt names of a softer tone such as the Violets, Mazzini Circle, Kenmare, Jupiter, etc.

For our purposes it will be illuminating to go into the origin of one of these clubs which practically is the history of a goodly average, and describe in detail its program and execution.

The particular group studied in this connection is one of the worst of its kind and therefore for our purposes best and is located in the large Italian colony just off the Five Points section. The "Huskies Association" exerts a powerful influence upon the tenement element of Americans of Italian extraction in and about Mulberry Bend Park. It was organized in 1914 and the members having no rooms of their own, meet at the quarters of the Sixth Ward Social Club located at 16 Bowery. About eighteen members all of Italian extraction make up the group. A "Husky" in the vernacular of the street is a "bum" or as they themselves say "one who won't work." When they desire to be facetious they call themselves "the Sons of Rest."

The strange thing about this club is that it has no organization or written constitution and holds no regular meetings. One individual is the recognized leader and bosses the "gang." Nor are any dues paid. The mechanics of organization are reduced to a skeleton.

TYPES OF MEMBERS—The ages of the members of the Husky Association range from twenty to thirty years. One third are married. The majority are employed as truckmen, dock-helpers, chauffeurs, etc. They have had a smattering of education in the public schools and speak little Italian. To the last man the members are Americans, say they are, and are proud of it. Being self-governing the members require a certain amount of free spending money for organization and individual activities. In age the members of such groups are rarely less than eighteen.

TYPES OF ACTIVITY—The pleasures that these clubs afford are exactly what this type of member seeks — pleasures of a sensory and motory kind. This is displayed in the most frequent diversions that the group as an organization conducts; namely, dances and outings. On such occasions the members invite their friends. For the most part the radius of the circle of friends is limited to those living in the immediate neighborhood or, as in other clubs those working in the same shop.

The personal characteristics of this type reflect in a very large measure the limited degree of opportunity

in life from an educational and financial standpoint that these people enjoy. Of very limited schooling their type of organization and of pleasures shows instability and simplicity. Their enjoyments reflect pleasures of the moment and of the senses rather than of the mind. One writer says of them, "It is these children of the Italians who in their untoward enthusiasm for things American despise the ways of their fathers and lose their love for Italy and their pride in their Italian blood."

RELATION AND EFFECT OF ORGANIZATION TO COMMUNITY—It is safe to say that the hiatus between the two generations i. e., the older and the younger, is nowhere so marked nor are the lines drawn anywhere so sharply as they are in this case. The interests of a club such as this street club in no way coincide with those belonging to the older half of the community. In many cases the money that is spent by the younger generation in the enjoyments of the organization's activities is far more than what is salutary. Usually it is obtained at the expense of not contributing to the home or maintenance of a proper standard of living in the home of which the older generation forms a part.

As we have seen the intellectual character of such an organization is reduced to a minimum if it is not altogether nil. The community suffers rather than gains because of its existence as no relation or coordination of any description exists with these bodies either among themselves or with other institutions excepting with bar-rooms and pool-parlors. Such groups exist apart with purely individual interests, are temporary in character and serve to generate a narrow individualism among the members.

Organization is on a small scale and the ends such an organization serves, it is to be readily seen, are immediate and sensory. Little opportunity is afforded to provoke intelligent discussion, stimulate foresight or ambition, afford practice in self-control and participation in the ends that lie outside of self.

One important feature this kind of organization offers its members is practice in self-management and club-procedure. The Nameoka Club for instance conducts

meetings in regular parliamentary procedure. Members are made to respect law and order in meetings at least. Such meetings are a miniature or copy of what they meet with and encounter in the local ward political club. In fact, these social clubs afford excellent material to be used by the ward politicians for campaign purposes.

To a very great extent this organization is a result of the conditions within which the American of Italian extraction lives. It is his effort to express himself. Too often of course are seen the effects of inadequate leadership. The community exercises no influence on such a club because there is no community spirit or organization nor has there ever been any. Neither has the club anything to offer the community except its perverted instincts. The club's sole reason for existence is to afford its members pleasure.

Such organizations under different names can be duplicated in every one of the Italian colonies scattered thruout the Greater City, wherever there is a tenement population and where the prevailing type of adult worker is the immigrant. But the identity does not cease with the Italian. The duplication is possible also in the Jewish, Irish, German and Bohemian quarters of the city, and was more true in the past than in the present. If it is permitted one to pass a judgment it is a condition that in the future will be duplicated in the Greek and Polish quarters of our city. It would seem therefore that there is nothing in this description of the Italian quarter and the social organization therein effected among Americans of Italian extraction that is peculiar to this type or is a thing "sui generis." It is rather a reflection of the character or nature of the more general American social organization into which this type of American has to fit himself. This condition is American or un-American just as we may wish to look at it; it is not related to or similar to anything European or foreign.

THE ATHLETIC CLUB

PARTICULAR GROUP—This type of organization that I have labelled "athletic club" resembles in many ways the larger and more well-known organizations of

a type similar to the New York Athletic Club, the Mohawk Athletic Club, the Pastime Athletic Club, etc., excepting that the organization that we shall describe and those similar to it are conducted on a very much smaller scale.

The fact is significant that despite the well-known place that athletes of Italian extraction have made for themselves in the fields of sport, no large athletic club exists catering exclusively to them, upon purely racial lines. This is so because first it shows a subordination of things Italian to those American, and argues for the fact that so thoro has been the absorption that a separate organization is not needed; second, in organization as well as in function we have a splendid instance of team play.

At the same time there is a distinct resemblance between the "athletic" club we are describing here and the "social" club previously talked about. In its earlier stages the sole difference is the nature of the pleasure sought — a difference not over great — motor not sensory pleasure being that which is chiefly sought.

In numbers these clubs are not so numerous as the others. The main reason for this is that there are not so many individuals who have the time necessary to become proficient in any one sport, to feel repaid for following it intensively; secondly there is the fact that upon becoming proficient such member shifts his center of interest from the "local" athletic club (maintained along race lines) to one of the larger "athletic" clubs uptown mentioned above.

We take for our particular grouping as being representative of this type the Nameoka Athletic Club. Its meeting place is at 326 Canal Street. Located as it is in the vicinity of Chinatown its membership includes several Americans of Chinese extraction representing offspring of mixed parentage. The name Nameoka was chosen because of the admiration that the members have for the athletic prowess of the Indians. It was incorporated in 1904. The club's constitution says that the organization is designed "to provide for the social, physical and

educational welfare of its members and to promote athletics in general."

The club started its existence at 80 Lafayette Street but eventually as "business" crept into the district they were forced to move and to locate in a more residential section. The club moved to Canal, corner of Hester Street where it occupies the entire two upper floors using these as meeting rooms and gymnasium.

The war depleted the membership greatly, eighty-seven out of one hundred and two joining "the colors," leaving but a remnant to conduct its various activities. Dues are fifty cents a month and meetings are held regularly once a month. Members are employed chiefly as follows; machinists, electricians, carpenters, linotype operators, plumbers, business men, policemen, firemen, municipal and government employees, post-office clerks and postal carriers. Most of the members have a common school education; about twenty had completed high school, and a bare half dozen had entered college. All, with the exception of three were citizens. This particular group is composed of Americans of Italian extraction 85 per cent of whose parents are Genoese.

The chief activity indulged in is basket-ball. The Nameoka Athletic Basket Ball Team is the best in the neighborhood. Other activities include the usual gymnasium games interspersed with picnics, balls, family outings, club parties for the members and their lady visitors, just as is true of most clubs on the East Side.

One of the major items of interest is the Civil Service class that the Club organized and consistently supported. An instructor was engaged for several evenings a week who presented the essentials of American citizenship to these Americans of the East Side. This served to stimulate the interest of the club members in local politics, and the members of the district election boards for the neighborhood are sure to have several Nameoka men on them. The writer served as an election official on the same Election Board in one of the worst districts of New York City just off the Bowery with the President of the Nameoka Club for two consecutive years and learned to admire the resolute and intelligently informed

way in which he and other Nameokians played their part in helping along good government in a district infested with much that is un-American.

TYPE OF MEMBER—The members of this group both with respect to age and degree of education are in no way very different from those described as making up the "social club." Some individuals are in fact members of both. The main difference seems to be that members of this latter club like physical exercise more. This is not to say that they do without the sensory pleasures of the former, but simply that in their individual scale of relative values some particular hobby such as basketball or baseball or running has a larger place.

TYPE OF ACTIVITY—Perhaps the most common form of athletics indulged in by such individuals is basketball in the winter and baseball in summer. Beginning in the fall the athletic chairman announces the schedules of games to be played thruout the season. These games are distributed between the home court and that of their opponents if the latter have one. Such affairs are attended by the club's adherents and these matches are the occasion for a good deal of betting. Not infrequently a match will not be effected excepting that a purse be offered. According to the statement of C. Dondero, the champion semi-professional basketball player of New York State, "the chief interest that attaches to the game is the betting."

When the athletic club has a strong following and is playing a winning game consistently it is able to combine the"athletic" with the "social" so that the financial end shows a considerable surplus. An instance in point is the case of the well-known Cathedral Separates, a professional basketball team that was a member of the Tri-State League. The members of this team, composed of Americans of Italian extraction, were in the day-time engaged in such work as postal carriers, bookkeepers and pressfeeders. Their evenings on Saturdays and Sundays were spent in playing professional basketball. The Cathedral Separates engaged Arlington Hall located on 8th Street a short distance from the Italian colony downtown, for each Sunday afternoon thruout the entire

season. The forenoon was spent in playing a match game of basketball for stakes and the remainder of the afternoon and evening was given up to dancing and drinking and feasting. For all this recreation the one entertained was charged the modest sum of twenty-five cents. In this way this team secured a support for their own athletic activity that otherwise would have been impossible.

RELATION AND EFFECT TO COMMUNITY—The "athletic club" also is distinctly separated from the interests of the community and of the older generation. It stimulates no civic interest or responsibility. It fosters an intense partisanry about a little nucleus—the team. The imminent aim of this organization is immediate and individual, namely pleasure. The older folks do not understand the modern American sports and recreation and frequently oppose them. Never having had any "play" themselves they believe that their children are growing up improperly and become lazy thru overplay. Much of this aversion to American games is due also to the strenuousness involved and the consequent fear that injury will follow.

Membership in this type of club has a more broadening effect than is true of the previous case because of the wider contacts established. Opposing clubs coming from all parts of the city and without limitations of race are naturally more broadening in their contacts. It is very common for Americans of Italian extraction to play against Americans of Jewish extraction. This is so because they are so nearly alike in aims and type. The games scheduled by the Nameoka Club for one season showed six nationalities as opponents, viz: Irish, Jews, Germans, Chinese, Bohemian, English, and their games called for travelling to such scattered places as Rockville Centre, Patchogue, L. I., Troy, Rochester.

In duration of time such clubs exist only as they make a successful showing in the forms of athletics followed. Otherwise the membership roll registers a fall. Often a club simply grows itself out of existence. The time passes all too soon when one can play basketball, and when sufficient new blood is not forthcoming the club

disbands of its own accord. The youngster of seventeen who is eligible to enter such a club would sooner form a separate organization of his own rather than enter one whose members average twenty-six years of age, and where his opinion is not valued very highly. The club therefore represents a transient stage in the development of the American of Italian extraction. This is the stage when he is most active physically.

THE RELIGIOUS CLUB

1. THE CATHOLIC CLUB

INTRODUCTION—In describing this type of organization as it is affected by Americans of Italian extraction, we will consider two kinds of clubs; that organized under Catholic, and that under Protestant auspices. While their aims are similar, their methods are in some ways different.

Most Americans of Italian extraction are Catholic. In Italy only three per cent of the people are Protestants. In America Protestants among Italians are more numerous, but the percentage is overwhelmingly in favor of the Catholics. Mangano may be said to fail perhaps to stress the actual conditions that exist when he says in this connection: "Out of 600,000 Italian people in greater New York, the Roman Church, by its own figures, lays claim to only 180,135 members of Roman Catholic Italian churches. This includes children and is less than one-third the total population."* Recently compiled statistics showed what the different Protestant denominations have accomplished in their work among Italians in the United States, viz:

Denomination	Churches and Missions	Approximate Number of Communicants
Presbyterian	103	12,800
Congregational	39	1,000
Baptist	65	3,000
Episcopalian	15	1,600
Methodist	52	9,000

The numerical superiority of Catholic churches and

* Mangano, Antonio. "Sons of Italy," p. 154.

communicants is so patent as to need no showing. The Catholic Church recognizing the need for the extra-church activities among its people has organized different clubs with names that are similar thruout all their parishes and that in no very great way are different from the social activities and religious societies that are started and kept up among Catholic parishes where the people are of different stock. In discussing the organization and activities of Ozanam Association No. 5 located in the dense Italian colony at Mulberry Bend we are not describing the form of an organization which is different from Ozanam Association No. 7 located in the heart of an Irish section.

PARTICULAR GROUPS—Ozanam Association No. 5 is connected with the Italian church of the Transfiguration of which the Rev. E. Coppo, Provincial of the Salesian Order, is the Pastor. Its athletic director is Denis J. Cronin. Ozanam Association No. 5 enjoys the use of a separate building on Park Street a few paces from Mulberry Bend Park. The equipment is substantial but of a past day and the well-worn character of the building, at least of some of it, attests to the rough usage to which it must have been subjected.

The Ozanam Association is very similar to the Italian Catholic Club which is also described here. Both stand for the social improvement of the American of Italian extraction. The social uplift is concomitant with an attempt to keep up religious practises.

The Italian Catholic Club so-called because it represented an offshoot of a group that had for years met at the parish house of the Old Catholic Cathedral on Prince and Mulberry Streets, was organized in 1911 and incorporated a year later.

The Italian Catholic Club now meets at its own club rooms not far from the Old Cathedral where they pay an annual rental of $300. The club membership totals 150 and the ages range from 16 to 35. Membership is largely made up of workers in the skilled trades. There is a predominance of electricians and skilled auto mechanics. The next most common em-

ployment is that of office workers such as law clerks and bookkeepers. Such members represent a scant fourth in the membership. There are four lawyers and also three doctors. Dues are fixed at fifty cents a month and meetings are held twice a month. About twenty-five of the men are married.

The chief recreation of the members is secured thru socials, dances, checkers, pinochle and other card games. Basketball also is extremely popular and vies with card playing for first place.

TYPE OF MEMBERS—The type of members joining these clubs is more subject to the influence of elders than are the members of the previous clubs. One reason for this is the fact that the ages are somewhat lower and they seem to be more amenable to guidance. There is also apt to be a difference in education favoring the members of the latter class. A distribution according to the schooling of the two religious organizations mentioned is:

	Public School Gradute	High School	College Graduates
Italian Catholic Club.....	114	22	14
Ozanam Association No. 5	155	38	7

To a certain extent the educational influence of such club life is colored with a religious flavor. One of the prerequisites for membership in each group is that the prospective candidate be sympathetic with Catholicism.

Not unimportant also is the fact that the individuals frequenting these clubs are more subject to parental influence. Paternalism goes farther with them. This is not to say that they are more Italian and less American than are the members of the social or the athletic clubs but simply that by virtue of temperament and constitution the members of the religious club are more strongly inclined to follow out the customs in vogue in Italian homes.

TYPE OF ACTIVITY—The activities that such clubs undertake are numerous and varied and suited to the ages of the different individuals of the group. In a Catholic church there is almost sure to be something of a musical training, tied up to the actual work of the church per-

haps by their choir singing or church music. This is true also of the Protestant churches. Band training for the boys is common; Catholic Brigades, Boy Scout Troops, Fife and Drum Corps and Cadets, etc., attest to the varied as well as practical turn of the recreational opportunities afforded.

Other features common to all church-going people of whatever racial stock, are socials, church dances, raffles, outings, May parties, Halloween parties, Thanksgiving entertainments, etc. A description of these is not offered as they are in no way different from those of other races.

II. THE PROTESTANT CLUB

INTRODUCTION—The other kind of religious club that remains to be noted is that organized within the Protestant Church. There are in all about 76 Protestant churches in New York City divided among the different denominations as follows:

Presbyterian	22
Baptist	18
Episcopalian	17
Methodist	19

Of the total number of Protestants in New York City, it is certain that a definite portion goes for the pecuniary rewards that the church gives. It is impossible to say of what proportion this holds true.

TABERNACLE YOUNG MEN'S CLUB

PARTICULAR GROUP—The Broome Street Tabernacle is one of the oldest Protestant Mission churches in the city, having been erected in 1865. At its beginning, its members were chiefly of English, Scotch and German stocks, but with the rapid infiltration of the Italian population in the district, all this has been radically changed. The membership today is entirely Italian. This church is conducted under the auspices of the City Mission Society of which Dr. A. F. Schauffler is the head.

TYPE OF MEMBERS—The Young Men's Tabernacle Club in its balmiest days totalled anywhere from forty

to sixty members, and was considered one of the most progressive Protestant Clubs in any Italian-speaking church thruout the city. This fact was largely due to the unusually exceptional leadership that the club enjoyed. Roswell Arrighi, son of the well known pastor of the church, Antonio Arrighi, makes this club a special hobby of his. Furthermore, Miss Edith H. White formerly associated with Wm. R. George of the George Junior Republic and in this connection known as "Aunty" also spent considerable time there. Miss White has held the leadership of this group for nearly eight years.

The average age of the members is twenty-four. Most of them are employed in the mechanical trades; a few are clerical workers and a bare half-dozen are students in schools and universities. In disposition and personal characteristics the members of the Protestant Club present no great differences from the types of such as frequent similar clubs in the Catholic institutions. Neither can be said to be more American than the other; the average amount of schooling obtained within the groups as a whole is practically the same; the pleasures followed are identical; both feel that they are Americans and act so.

TYPE OF ACTIVITY—Membership in this particular group is dependent upon attendance in some Bible Class. This religious activity has an important grip upon the lives of these individuals because the weekly meetings are interesting and instructive. Their more frequent and perhaps more gripping contacts are those secured in the social intercourse gained in their meetings and thruout their recreational and physical activities. The general rounds of socials, games, parties, picnics, stags, church festivals, entertainments and young people's meetings are all entered into with zest. Their effects are generally sensory. The all-around pleasures described allow for a fair measure of ideational values which is something we note for the first time in our description of the "Social Organizations" of these people.

The wholesome and beneficial contacts established in this club are such as to call forth the first note of commendation so far to be noted in discussing the co-

operative features of Americans of Italian extraction. The religious club, both Catholic and Protestant, while conservative, is the first solidly rooted social institution of which real progress can be predicated. In no fundamental way so far as the American of Italian extraction is concerned can there be said to be any great difference in these clubs from those of similar clubs in the Catholic church and Protestant church conducted among other people. Activities are conducted with the same end in view — spiritual instruction and physical enjoyment of a clean and wholesome kind.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF RELIGIOUS CLUBS TO COMMUNITY—The relation of these clubs to the community is intimate and important. First, because to a very large extent it is the first form of organized activity we have encountered that places one under the control and makes him subject to the supervision of others. Such overhead supervision serves to see to it that the membership is homogeneous in one important element at least — the religious; that the activities are purposive and that as a unit the group and its activities are correlated with an institution.

Its relation to the community is "set" and "adjusted" and is likely to continue after the time that individuals making up the present group pass away. The measure of license and free control that characterized the previous groups is absent here. But more important than the relation to the institution and its administration is the relation between the home and the younger generation making up these units.

The adult immigrant is sympathetic with this kind of organization because (1) the religion behind it is similar to the one that he professes and that commands his confidence; (2) he knows definitely *where* his son is and in a general way is conversant with the activities for which the clubs stand. Neither of these is true in the cases previously considered. Often tho when the American of Italian extraction attends the Protestant club it is done surreptitiously and without the parent's knowledge.

THE BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATION

PARTICULAR GROUPS—These organizations are not popular with the younger generation, tho among the adult Italian they have a wide vogue and exercise greater influence than any other form of organization. We shall not speak of benevolent associations that are branches of the well-known fraternal organizations like the Masons, Odd Fellows, Moose, etc., because of the identical similarity in organization, structure and function that exists among such branches of all stocks, excepting to mention a few of the very principal lodges by name such as the Alba, Roma, Garibaldi, Mazzini, Jerusalem, Italia, Cavour, etc. We pass on therefore to a type of organization developed by the American of Italian blood largely of the "trade" or business type previously described.

The Bagolino Benefit Association is a club named after an old poet and musician who came from the same part of Italy as the members of this group, i.e., from Sicily. The club is located in the large Sicilian colony on Twenty-Sixth Street and was organized six years ago. According to the president of this club the "purpose of the organization is to keep together those individuals who have come from the same home town in Sicily; to provide a suitable meeting place in order to avoid having members stand on street corners and about saloons; to develop socially and to be prepared to mutually assist one another in every way."

TYPE OF MEMBERS—There are forty-four members in this group, which is representative of many such others thruout the same district and elsewhere. About twenty members are married. Dues are seventy-five cents a month and meetings are held once a month. The chief social feature common to this club as with most of the others are billiards, checkers, piano playing and other musical instruments, dancing and card playing. This last is a very popular pastime. Some gymnasium apparatus is on hand but very little used. The basketball court is also very popular. A great deal is made of the periodic feasts or dinners where all the members gather

and have an amazing variety of Italian dishes served them.

Of the forty-four members of this group, a distribution according to education showed the following:

2 Graduates of High School in Italy.
10 Graduates of Elementary Schools in United States.
30 Graduates of Elementary Schools in Italy.
2 No schooling.

A distribution by ages is:

Age Period	Number Individuals
18-21	3
22-25	5
26-29	12
30-35	10
36-40	6
41-45	8

By vocations these same members are divided as follows:

Vocation	Number
Tailors	6
Machine Operators	13
Clerks	6
Machinists	8
Linotypists	4
Printers	5
Stenographers	2

The Italian American Citizens Benevolent Association is an organization that is essentially similar in composition and purposes to the Bagolino Benevolent Association. The club is located in the heart of the dense Italian Colony in East New York. It was organized in 1911 by P. B. Buonora and according to the statement of its president was designed to:

(a) Promote a desire among Italians to become American citizens.
(b) Instruct the members in good and efficient government regardless of party politics.
(c) To especially urge men and women of Italian descent to take interest in public affairs.
(d) Provide for the economic and social welfare of the members and their families by means of sick and death benefits.

TYPE OF ACTIVITY—This association is one of the largest and most influential of its kind in Brooklyn. Two meetings are held monthly, excluding special gatherings for lectures, political rallies and conferences.

The membership is almost 400 and the ages average from 21 to 45. Special features that this organization has supported are English and citizenship classes. Fully one-half of the membership is made up of adult Italians and so parallels a condition found in the Bagolino Club where more than half of the group were over thirty years of age. This fact shows no doubt why the "benefit" idea is included in the organization. Fully as much Italian as English is spoken in the rooms and at the gatherings.

A goodly majority of the members of this group are individuals who have Italian interests very deeply rooted, as their ages and their place of education might well indicate. The degree of parental influence with this type of American of Italian extraction therefore is most marked. This is reflected in the fact that only ten members of the Bagolino or one-fourth of the entire membership are citizens. The feeling of "camaraderie" in this and other clubs is so strong that whereas no definite stipulation is made with respect to "benefits" each and every one knows that if he should be incapacitated, he need not fear any want. Always one of the largest expenditures of these clubs goes for flags, in this case amounting to $600. This is considered a very small sum. Usually the amount of money spent on flags and such decorations runs into thousands of dollars. Pianos and musical instruments reflect the artistic sense of the Italian and also come in for an abnormal share of the club's fund.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF BENEFIT CLUB TO COMMUNITY—In so far as these clubs draw upon Americans of Italian extractions for support they are an anti-Americanization agency. Allegiance is divided between the shop and this organization which in every sense of the word is bent on prolonging the influence of traditional ideas, family hopes, Italian ambitions, Italian ways of living and Italian customs. This is rendered possible thru the reading of the Italian newspapers lying about in these club-rooms, the fraternal badges or other club insignia, Italian bands, the periodic feasts, Italian

games and finally the inevitable penalty of social ostracism should any one not marry an Italian girl.

Economically these clubs make possible a greater saving of money for they tend to keep their members true to a standard of living different from that known to the American; educationally they act as great deterrents to the wholesome Americanization of the children of Italian immigrants; socially they keep alive Italian customs, traditions, ways of thinking and of doing things, and are the most effective nourishers of the Italian immigrant colonies in New York City; politically such a club draws heavily from the potential citizenry due America thru her fearlessness and trustfulness in taking to her bosom the heterogeneous masses of Europe; morally they create a social discord between two civilizations that makes for a great deal of friction. This friction results from the maladjustment inevitable when two generations such as the immigrant and his offspring are forced to live together. A clash in ideals inevitably ensues.

THE Y. M. C. A. ASSOCIATION

PARTICULAR GROUPS—The Y. M. C. A. does not conduct a branch association exclusively for Americans of Italian extraction, but by virtue of the location of a building in a district that is predominately Italian, the complexion of the membership corresponds accordingly. Normally the settlement with its boy's clubs, dramatic societies and literary circles is supposed to be a feeder to the Y. M. C. A. branch that is not catering exclusively to transients. As the case proved, at least with Americans of Italian extraction, this condition does not obtain, and accounts in large measure for the failure of the Y. M. C. A. branch association in East Harlem that was started as a branch to be devoted exclusively to Americans of Italian origin.

There are but two instances in the history of the Y. M. C. A. movement in the Greater City where this consideration of race existed sufficiently to be looked upon as a factor to be considered in aiming for success. These two instances are the Young Men's Institute

Branch of the Y. M. C. A. and the East Harlem Italian Y. M. C. A. located on East 116th Street. The former has an existence of some sixty years; the latter existed but three years and is now no more. The East Harlem Italian Y. M. C. A. was located on East 116th Street below Second and Third Avenues in a three-story brown building just on the edge of a Little Italy section of Harlem. It might be said here that a serious mistake was made at the start in not choosing a site in the very heart of the colony. This branch was opened in 1911 and closed its doors in 1914. In no way was the purpose of this branch or that of the Y. M. I. different from that obtaining with the branch associations located in other parts of the city. A very capable secretary, Mr. Lawson H. Brown, had charge of the work for the three years that it ran. This branch, tho supposed to tap the great numbers of Americans of Italian extraction in the area of the "Little Italy" section of Harlem, never had more than one hundred and fifty members and thruout its existence showed a very remarkably high degree of membership turnover by having approximately three hundred and fifty different members in three years; that is each year showed an entirely different set of fellows.

TYPE OF MEMBERS—Perhaps one of the reasons for the failure of this branch was the remarkably wide discrepancy in types of members. The average age of the membership was twenty-five, membership was composed on the one hand of a clique of Columbia College men who had won Phi Beta Kappa honors, and who are now instructing in universities and secondary schools; and on the other hand of the lowest type to be found in the Italian colnoy. "Social mixing" here was never without friction.

The pleasures indulged in were largely physical, including hand-ball, gymnastic work, basketball, indoor baseball, etc. Other activities were English classes, reading rooms, religious meetings and entertainments. There was nothing to distinguish these activities in any way from those ordinarily carried on to-day among other association branches. Mr. Brown, the secretary, thought

that an unusual appreciation of musical and literary art obtained. The reason for discontinuing the work followed from the fact that the Board of Directors would not lease the building anew unless the Italian constituency would do a larger share toward covering the current expenses each year.

The Young Men's Institute is one of the oldest Y. M. C. A. branches in the city. Tho at its inception there were no members of Italian parentage within the membership, to-day one is on its Board of Directors.* When the Young Men's Institute opened its doors, almost sixty years ago, its membership was almost entirely made up of members of Americans of Irish and German blood; to-day fully fifty per cent are of Italian extraction. Two years ago thru the efforts of Mr. E. C. Baldwin, for twenty-five years its secretary, $60,000 was raised for remodeling the old structure, and it represents to-day as well equipped a Y. M. C. A. branch as any to be found in the city. In this building is the only indoor swimming pool located downtown below 23rd Street. While the dues in the East Harlem Italian Y. M. C. A. were $3.00 per annum, membership in the Young Men's Institute is $15.00.

Naturally members joining this branch are residents of the immediate vicinity. It is to be deprecated that but 225 individuals out of the thousands of young men of Italian parentage living in the great Mulberry Bend Italian colony take advantage of this building and its equipment. The average age of the Italian portion of the membership is between twenty-five and twenty-six. A distribution of workers shows seventy-four different fields of activity, the six most frequently found being clerks, operators, salesmen, plumbers, tailors and electricians. Fully 50 per cent profess Protestantism as their religious faith. In passing it may be said that the Protestant character of the Y. M. C. A. has much to do with keeping down the membership.

The pleasures of the group are largely physical and social. The excellent gymnasium, showers, handball courts, basketball courts and indoor baseball courts,

* Mr. Danzilio.

lockers, reading rooms, libraries and evening classes, afford a wealth of opportunity for right and proper development if they were but used. Religious meetings are held regularly, and according to the reports of the secretary are satisfactory with respect to attendance. One of the most important activities which this branch conducted before the war was its training school for civil service. Annually a goodly number of policemen, firemen, postal and customs and railway mail clerks are sent out from this school having successfully passed their examinations and are placed in government positions.

The study and stressing of citizenship may be said to be the most marked activity of the Young Men's Institute. This it has done and is doing effectively and well. This branch is also able to maintain a flourishing literary society where weekly debates and discussions on various topics are entered into with avidity. Dr. L. C. Schroeder had much to do towards making this latter activity a success.

RELATION AND EFFECT TO COMMUNITY — There is no relation at all between this Institute — the best high grade Americanizing agency of its kind in the neighborhood — and the Italian colony on the Lower East Side. Whether this is due to the apathy of the people themselves or of the failure of the institution "to get across," it is impossible to say. It may be that both share in the blame. Some of the fellows who are "on the outside" say it is too "high brow"; others that it is Protestant and forbidden; others, that it costs too much money. In all probability all three factors are operative. It is certain that the extensive activities carried on when the membership was largely of Irish and German origin do not obtain among the present membership with its Italian coloring.

THE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

If it were possible to describe here the organization and functions of a large and multifariously active civic association for Americans of Italian extraction, it would be both good and bad. It would be good because a flourishing civic organization on the one hand, would

show that our Italian stock is greatly interested in government; on the other hand, it would be bad, because of the carrying over of the "race" question in matters of civics and politics.

To a superficial observer, therefore, the absence of some such flourishing civic organization, directly interested in making better citizens, is often construed to mean that Italians do not become citizens.

Few organizations of any consequence with a distinctly civic or political purpose exist among the younger generation of these Americans in New York City. Some years ago the older generation organized the Italian-American Democratic Union. This Union, which still exists, aimed to unite Italian-speaking Americans of the first generation about the standards of one of the two leading political parties of this state.

PARTICULAR GROUPS—The Fugazzi Association is a large and powerful civic organization named after its founder, Humboldt Fugazzi, who was intensely interested in having his people adopt America as their permanent home. This Association has its clubrooms in the Italian colony on the lower West Side on Thompson Street near Bleecker. Humboldt Fugazzi is a local politician who has given years to the work of developing a civic consciousness among Italians on the West Side. From a few dozen, this club has steadily increased until it now counts almost one thousand names on its rolls making it unquestionably the most powerful group of its kind among the younger generation on the West Side. According to the founder of this club the purpose of the organization is to "work for the betterment of the Italian elements on the West Side socially and politically." Dues are fifty cents a month, and meetings are held fortnightly.

TYPE OF ACTIVITY—Activities of the members are of a social, physical, and mental nature. The club rooms are splendidly furnished with an equipment which costs thousands of dollars. Pool and card games are the most popular diversions of the members. Music is next in popularity. Members of this organization take a very

active part in athletics, of which running and cycling probably feature most prominently.

A citizenship school is conducted by this club and has done its work so effectually that of a membership of over 900 scarcely 35 are aliens. At each election increased activity in politics results because of the keen interest that these individuals take in government.

Where an organization of this kind is too much under the thumb of one man or clique not unfrequently it is used to further personal ends. A fair judgment of the situation with reference to the Fugazzi Association from this standpoint must relieve this organization from this suspicion. The best refutation of this charge is that the club has vacillated in its support of parties, voting as individuals instead of a group.

Other clubs of a like kind are the Italian American Democratic Union, and the Italian-American Citizens Association.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF CIVIC CLUB TO COMMUNITY—The influence of a civic organization of a type such as the above has a salutary effect upon the community. The reasons for this are various. The one who frequents the Civic Club is apt to know intimately both individuals and sources that are more truly American than any other person or things he might meet in his work-a-day world. To begin with, the entire emphasis of club-life is placed upon American citizenship.

Politically these clubs, while plausibly charged with a pseudo-Americanism because of the appeal they make to racial backgrounds, are in reality indispensible channels necessary for the infiltration of an unbroken stream of American influences into the lives of those individuals that frequent them. This is so because of the relations that exist between such civic clubs and the political party. This connection allows for frequent visits to these clubs by the leading candidates for political office, the stressing of parliamentary rules and procedure, the emphasizing of group loyalty and even individual fealty —all of which show a new set of values that heretofore were unknown.

Educationally the practice in reading the numerous

pamphlets, articles, posters and cards that are being constantly put out by the energetic leaders of the Civic Club, calls forth reactions that prove stimulating. Social contacts become more numerous, intercommunication more frequent and the whole sphere of the individual's mental horizon is widened to include a world larger than he knew before he joined such a club.

The civic club usually takes it upon itself to look after the hygiene, health, recreation and functions of a municipal nature as they affect the district in which the workers live. In this way they are brought face to face with American government in a very practical way. This club is a social and civic laboratory that this type of American needs in order to become a more useful citizen.

SOCIAL WELFARE CLUB

INTRODUCTION—It is within this type of organization that we find the best instances of cooperative and concerted group action. Organization here is both volitional and purposive. A definite program is held forth and serves to attract individuals of a comparatively homogeneous nature. The basis for membership within these groups is Italian ancestry. Sometimes though Americans of other descents are admitted because they are interested in Italian culture and Italian people. The purpose of such clubs is to uplift the Italian masses of the slums. In order to be helpful one must have some training and experience in things cultural and a certain amount of free time. It is not surprising therefore that we find the bulk of such members to be either professionally employed Italians or college students.

THE ITALIAN LEAGUE FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

This league was organized in the Richmond Hill settlement five years ago to help the young generation of Americans of Italian extraction acquire a thoro knowledge of the problem of Americanizing the Italian immigrant, and to furnish them with the training necessary to become the leaders among their own people.

This organization was started by Prof. Racca and the workers of the Richmond Hill settlement. This house had for years been training a group of Americans of Italian extraction to go forth among their own peoples and disseminate a knowledge of the good which they had themselves secured through the more enlightened methods of living following directly from their more rapid Americanization.

The basis for this organization was the realization that the most effective way of getting at the problem of welfare and uplift of the American immigrant was to instruct the young generation and train them as leaders, and send them out to preach the gospel of Americanization as reflected in a higher standard of living, American citizenship, and a speaking and reading knowledge of the English language.

This organization has done some very effective work, sending out twenty-five teachers to various institutions in the neighborhood where by means of their leadership classes in English and citizenship were started and are maintained even to-day.

THE ITALIAN EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE—The Italian Educational League is one of the oldest and most influential social welfare organizations in the City of New York. It is called the Italian Educational League because the major part of its work is an attempt to prolong the period of time that Americans of Italian extraction attend the public schools of this city. Its organization was due largely to the efforts of Dr. Antonio Pisani, former member of the Board of Education who served as its president for nine years; and also Joseph Francolini, President of the Italian Savings Bank. During the ten years of its existence the League has accomplished some very useful work. It has solicited and collected funds by which it has been possible to award at least thirty-five scholarships. These scholarships are given in the form of weekly stipends to parents, thereby relieving them of the necessity for relying upon the child's financial support. This permits the child to remain in school. Its methods of work, according to Dr. Pisani, its president, are as follows:

1. The Italian League studies the natural, healthy

interests of the Italian pupils, and provides for their encouragement and development.

2. Brings to attention of the Italian parents, thru parents' meetings, personal conferences and pamphlets, the need of keeping their children at school as long as possible.

3. Aids worthy pupils who are in need so that progress in their school work may go on without interruption.

4. Aids graduates and those that are forced to leave school to find positions where they have an opportunity to make progress.

5. Brings to the attention of the proper authorities the needs of the Italian pupils.

6. Prepares pamphlets for pupils who contemplate choosing a career.

7. Distributes to parents leaflets, papers and notices relative to the business opportunities for profitable employment open to their children.

8. Collects information regarding opportunities for profitable employment for graduates.

9. Prepares for the use of employers lists of suitable persons by the aid of which they may select help.

10. Works in co-operation with Americans for the welfare of the Italian pupils.

11. Looks into complaints of Italian parents for lack of school accommodations or tuition for their children.

12. Has qualified persons addressing groups of children regarding the opportunities in different trades and professions.

13. Promotes the study of the Italian language in the public school.

14. Represents the Italian pupils in educational meetings.

15. Aids parents in securing such modifications in the school curriculum as will suit local conditions and tend to bring out the best in the child.

16. Works to obtain a better observance of the provisions of the compulsory educational law by the parents, relations or employers of Italian children.

Thruout its existence the League has conducted over 100 meetings where the advantages of a public school

education, of knowing the English language and of becoming American citizens from an economic, social and educational standpoint were definitely and intelligently presented to their people by the educational leaders of Italian blood in New York City. For over two years the league has employed a visiting teacher who went into the homes of the Italian parents in which there were mental defectives or otherwise deficient children, and instructed the parents as to the proper procedure to follow in order to secure relief. Over two hundred and fifty such visits were recorded that later were made the subject of the attention of proper public officials. By this means many unfortunates received the benefits of preventive measures from clinics, hospitals, asylums and schools. This person worked under the direction of the inspector of undergraded classes and looked after Italian cases only.

RELATION AND EFFECT TO COMMUNITY—This League is interested not only in educational matters, but in all questions of a public nature as relative to and affecting Italian-speaking people of this city. Regular educational meetings are held under its auspices thruout the five boroughs. The connection with all Italian-speaking communities so far as this organization is concerned is helpful and intimate.

THE ITALIAN WELFARE LEAGUE—The Italian Welfare League was organized in September 1913 by such interested men as Chevalier John Foster Carr, Countess Frabasilis, Judge Freschi, Dr. Pisani, Rev. Tornatore, etc. The younger generation took hold of this movement very readily and actively, so that to-day the League numbers over 200 members.

According to the inscription underneath the figure of Dante on the letterhead of this organization, the purpose of this club is to "organize young men and women of Italian parentage and help them to preserve among themselves and to disseminate among others the best that the genius of Italy has contributed to civilization."

The very active and enterprising president of this organization, Peter F. Sabbatino, states that: "The chief activities are centered at Christodora House, 147

Avenue B. The main work of the organization consists in having men and women prominent in the social and public life of the city come down to our meetings and discuss the problems of the city as they affect Americans of Italian descent; also to organize young men and women of Italian parentage into mutually helpful contacts socially, educationally and politically."

The league has done very effective work as is testified by clubs organized under its patronage at the Christodora House, the Labor Temple, the Second Avenue Recreational rooms and the Chrystie Street Settlement. The League has also pushed all efforts to bring about a fuller co-operation among clubs scattered thruout the city interested in bettering the social conditions of people of Italian lineage.

The members of this group vary in age from twenty-one to forty, and are scattered thru a variety of fields of employment from the modest post-office clerk to those practising in the different professions, such as law and medicine. Classes are held in civic and educational work; language classes are held as the occasion warrants. Dues average $3.00 per annum, and meetings are held twice a month.

RELATION AND EFFECT TO COMMUNITY—The Italian Welfare League affords one of the very best instances of the push-upward that an enlightened, socially spirited and public-minded group of individuals can contribute towards helping the peoples of the race to which they belong and those who perhaps have not had the similar advantages which these leaders enjoy. In a word, their mission to such people, is to intelligently interpret Americanism. There is no doubt that upon this younger generation of Americans is entrusted the task of intelligent interpretation of the Italian stock in our midst.

THE YOUNG MEN'S ITALIAN EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE—The Young Men's Italian Educational League is composed of the younger generation of educated Americans of Italian extraction residing thruout the different boroughs. Its meetings were held at the time of its inception at Earl Hall, Columbia University; from

this they moved to Government House, New York University, and now regularly meet at the Italian School on Hester and Elizabeth Streets. This league does a work that resembles closely that done by the Italian Welfare League and the Italian Educational League. It is under the able leadership of F. R. Serri, formerly Associate Editor of Commerce and Finance and recently a candidate for the office of Attorney-General on the New York State Farmer-Labor Party ticket.

The League has at present forty-five members, three-fourths of whom are college graduates representing Columbia, New York University, Syracuse, Yale, Colgate, City College of New York, and Fordham. A distribution of the membership according to vocation is:

P. S. Teachers	4
H. S. Teachers	8
Graduate (Univ.) Students	3
College	10
Lawyers	5
Doctors	4
Micellaneous	11
Total	45

PURPOSE—The purpose of this club according to a set of printed aims that it distributes is:

"To unite all intelligent young Italians in the promotion of a greater educational interest and a finer social and civic loyalty among the Italians of America."

METHOD—

1. To conduct a training course for leaders of citizenship classes for Italian students every Monday night at 8:45 P. M.
2. To publish a citizenship book that will be adequate, scientific in spirit and thoroly up-to-date.
3. To write articles and book reviews, and to translate articles and books of distinct value in producing a more sympathetic understanding between Italians and Americans.
4. To organize and furnish leaders for citizenship and English classes for Italian men and women thruout the city.
5. To organize a monthly conference of all Italian educational, civic and social clubs or leagues, in order to

obtain more effective co-operation and unity of action.

6. To organize or co-operate with Italian social or civic clubs already organized in all the high schools and colleges in New York.

7. To conduct literary meetings in order to develop greater facility in speaking, appreciation of things intellectual and a keener understanding of the important social and civic issues of the day.

The League has organized citizenship classes in half a dozen schools and settlements where Italians are located in noticeable numbers. It has donated for this use the services of four or five instructors in civics and citizenship. This League particularly has been very active in fostering a spirit of harmony and co-operation between the various welfare organizations and Italian clubs located in different sections of the city. It is responsible also for the opening of many additional English classes for foreigners and has also conducted under its auspices numerous debates, socials, family gatherings, educational conferences and public meetings.

Its program calls for periodical public meetings on current questions in politics, government and other social questions. It has created a keener appreciation for books and reading by maintaining an open shelf library easily accessible to all members. As an organization it has contributed frequently and generously to the financial support of many and various welfare movements aiming at the betterment of Italians in New York.

RELATION AND EFFECT TO COMMUNITY—As was said of the club described before the nature of the adjustment that this organization makes to the Italian communities at large is an intelligent and socially helpful one. Not only are there being developed by the means of the valuable lessons that are being taught, qualities that augur well for America, but individually the members are preparing themselves for a life of wider usefulness and looking forward to a time when the radius of their services as interpreters of the American spirit will not be circumscribed by the narrow confines of a mere local community.

THE COLLEGE CIRCOLO

Almost every college where Italians attend in sufficient numbers has its Italian Circolo.* When organized within the walls of an educational institution the ostensible purpose of such a club is to stimulate the use of and interest in Italian language, Italian culture, Italian art, etc. Usually tho this latter aim degenerates so that the chief aim becomes "social." Almost every high school has a Circolo too, usually very close under the chaperoning wing of one of the instructors in the school, and not unlikely a teacher of Italian extraction.

PARTICULAR GROUPS—Because probably more Americans of Italian extraction living in the Greater City have secured their collegiate training at Columbia the Circolo attached to this institution is the one chosen for a detailed analysis here. The Columbia University Italian Circolo is perhaps the most highly developed Italian Circolo connected with any University in the East or thruout the United States for that matter. Its recent growth has been phenomenal in expanding membership from a bare half dozen to almost sixty members within a period of a few years.

Eight years ago when the writer entered Columbia College as a freshman there was no Circolo in existence. A few students on the basis of their common Italian ancestry gathered once a month or so and discussed their own individual matters rather than questions of Italian art, langauge or culture. Usually this "talk-fest" concluded a few hours later at some Italian restaurant where dinner was had. A few hours of heated and random discussion was the extent of organized activity among Americans of Italian extraction at Columbia College. The writer recalls being introduced to but four or five such individuals which was the maximum of those who evidenced any interest whatever in a Circolo. Possibly a few others were scattered thruout various other schools of the university, but none showed sufficient interest to attend even these informal gatherings.

* Italian word for club.

The year 1913 saw the organization of a real Italian Circolo and it was helped a great deal by the sympathetic co-operation of former Dean F. P. Keppel. Quite a few freshmen having entered, the year was started with a regular constitution and meetings were held at regular stated intervals. The first president of the Circolo was Garibaldi La Guardia, formerly instructor at the Naval Academy at Annapolis. The membership numbered about twenty-five at that time, but a bare dozen or so attended these first meetings and showed what could be called "sustained interest." The club since 1913 has grown considerably in size and strength until to-day there are fully 75 members on the rolls. Not a litttle of the recent growth of the Columbia Circolo is due to the efforts and interest of Professor John L. Gerig of the Romance language department.

TYPE OF MEMBERS—The average age of these collegiate Americans of Italian extraction is twenty-one. This type enters college as a rule a year or so later than the average American of other descents. This is so because every now and then there enters an individual who has had a break in his education, most likely one due to financial reasons.

If Americans of Italian extraction go to Columbia the chances are strong that they have had also their secondary schooling in the greater city's high schools, and each year sees a wide distribution of members coming from Brooklyn, the Bronx, Staten Island and many from downtown Italian colonies located on the West and East Sides. The reason that a goodly representation is always had from residents of outlying suburbs is that usually they represent families who are in better financial circumstances than the average and able therefore to effect a change of residence. Fully seventy-five per cent are residents of New York City. Scatterings are always to be expected from such suburbs as Bayonne, Long Island City, Mt. Vernon, New Rochelle and the nearby towns of New Jersey. Elizabeth, New Jersey, has sent several representatives as well as Danbury, Connecticut, and Mamaroneck, New York.

The pleasures of this type are of the usual college

type varying in no noticeable degree. The usual number of dances, socials, entertainments, etc., are given and supported. To make any distinction in this sort of thing is almost impossible, as none is discernible. It has been found that about thirty per cent of these Americans of Italian extraction work after school hours to make possible their continuing in school. Not a few help their fathers in their business or teach at night subjects like Spanish or Italian. Dean Keppel likes to quote the case of one of these individuals who spent his time Saturdays and Sundays working in his brother's barber shop, as representative of the way this type has to struggle to get ahead. He is now a professor in one of our Southern colleges.

TYPE OF ACTIVITY—The activity of these individuals in so far as it is concerned with their Circolo life is largely recreational in character. As was said before the main purpose of the club which was to stimulate the use and interest in the Italian language has lapsed; to-day the main effort is to afford social contacts.

The club does nothing in athletics as an organization tho several have starred for Columbia as individuals. Some of the prizes which went to members of the Circolo were the Junior Wrestling Championship, Varsity places in the football, basketball, baseball and soccer football teams. Modarelli, Ruffolo and De Fronzo are to be noted in this connection.

In scholarship the club has established a unique record, so much so that Dean Keppel, in a recent article has said of them:

"Some of these foreign strains are very interesting. I think the keenest among them at present is the Italian. In earnestness and accomplishment the Italian boys are surpassing even the Russian-Jewish boys and that not only means that they are of high intelligence but that they are hard workers. They get along very well with their fellows of all races too. We never have a Phi Beta Kappa election which does not result in the choice of from three to five Italians." *

* Keppel, F. P., "The College Student of Today." N. Y. Times, December 19, 1918.

A summary of the scholastic achievements of these members is contained in the following statistics gathered by the ex-president of the Circolo:*

Year	Graduating Class in Columbia College	Number of Italians	Degree with honors	Awarded to Italians	Prizes in College	Awarded to Italians	Elections to P. B. K.	Italians Elected	Other Honors
1916	77	7	13	3	6	1		4	5
1915	185	3	13	—	10	1	—	1	1
1914	170	4	7	—	9	1	15	2	2
1913	188	1	12	—	7	1	—	—	1
1912	152	2	—	—	8	1	—	—	1
1911	141	6	1	1	9	—	—	—	—

This performance at Columbia is not the exception. There have come to the writer's attention many other similar instances at other universities. Concretely, these other institutions are Wesleyan, Yale, Barnard, Syracuse, New York University (Heights) and City College.

A word may be said here for the College of the City of New York Circolo. This Circolo was organized in 1912, and its membership up to the outbreak of the war totalled fifty members. Dues are seventy-five cents for one academic term, and meetings are held weekly. This organization carries on a program that is essentially similar to that described for the Columbia organization. Some of its regular feaures are:

(a) An annual smoker.

(b) An annual play (in Italian) and dance usually in conjunction with the Circolo Italiano made up of the American girls of Italian extraction at Hunter College. For the past three years the receipts of these performances have been turned over to the Italian Red Cross and have netted hundreds of dollars.

(c) A yearly banquet in honor of the graduates of Italian blood.

(d) An intercollegiate basketball tournament of games

* Nicholas Bucci, Italian Scholarship at Columbia — The Italian Intercollegiate, Vol. 1, No. 1.

played between the Italian Circolo representing the different colleges in this section of the country.

This club has had the consistent attention and interest of Prof. Arbib-Costa. Besides this from 1910 on there have been quite a few unusually able members whose influence and labors made the City College Circolo a success from the start. The Italian name was kept at a high level by Viscardi, Lodato and D'Andria who won prizes in various fields. In public speaking Cristiano distinguished himself above all others. Sabbatino and Armore and Santangelo won places on the debating teams. A few Phi Beta Kappa men within the recent past are De Luca, Lodato, Iaccuzzi, D'Andria and Spagnuoli. Of recent years the City College has steadily forged ahead. It has grown in numbers and increased its activities so that its Circolo represents an important part of the Italian college life of this city. Of the younger men Russo and Sava are particularly active.

The Hunter College Circolo is also in a very flourishing condition, and numbers over forty members. These American-trained Italian-speaking students are all vitally interested in things American. They hold regular meetings and usually have some prominent person in the Italian colony address them. They conduct dances and give plays and hold many informal socials. The whole social and intellectual life is distinguished by nothing that is different from the general routine of activity as is experienced in the life of girls of other descents. Great praise is due to Prof. Clara Byrnes for her unflagging interest and devotion in suggesting ideas and maintaining interest among members.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF CIRCOLO LIFE TO THE ITALIAN COMMUNITY—Because the members of the College Circolo come from communities that are scattered there is no definite community that can claim any direct contact with this type unless it be the college community. Of the relation that this American of Italian extraction bears to the college community Dean Keppel said to the writer the following:

"Italian students with their optimism and joy of living are almost uniformly desirable associates and are easily

and healthfully assimilated into the student body. There are few if any cases of social indigestion among them."

All this has been possible only because this type of American is an individual who has been given a chance in life such as the parent never had. The encouraging thing is that their numbers are steadily increasing.

It is not to be questioned that from the ranks of the members of the Columbia, City College and other Circoli located in universities that the best leadership of the Italian population will come.

PROFESSIONAL CLUBS

The number of professionally employed Americans of Italian extraction has steadfastly increased in New York City within the last twenty years. Taking the three most popular professions, teaching, law and medicine, as a basis, we note that an organization exists for each of the three. It was not so very long ago when the number of lawyers of Italian extraction practising in New York City could be counted on the fingers of one hand; to-day the number is over five hundred. The same holds true for the medical and teaching professions.

There are two important reasons for this change: (1) The raised economic status of the younger as compared with the older generation; (2) the universal desire for Italian parents to have a son who is a professional man.

PARTICULAR GROUPS—The Societa Medica Italiana is the Italian Medical Society in the city and was organized in 1898 by Dr. Casella. At the time of its inception the membership totalled thirty-five; to-day this has increased to one hundred and fifty. Dues are fixed at four dollars annually and meetings are held once every month. The purpose of these meetings is to provide social and professional contacts for the members. This is accomplished in various ways. Every meeting is made the occasion of a lecture on some phase of medicine by one of the members or possibly an invited speaker. The lectures are always followed by discussion and criticism.

Another important feature of the work of this organization is the patriotic work that it does for the families

of recalled Italian soldiers. Medical advice and aid is furnished gratis to such families and besides this, funds are collected from time to time which are distributed in such a way as the members may decide. These contributions usually follow two forms:

(1) The support of children made orphans owing to the war;

(2) The furnishing of field operating rooms to the Italian Red Cross. Within one year six such hospitals have been contributed.

Almost all of the doctors of this society secured their professional training in Italy, with the exception of some twenty who are graduates of American universities. Almost all specialties in medicine are represented.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF MEDICAL SOCIETY TO ITALIAN COMMUNITY—It seems that the medical men in the Italian colony have taken the lead in giving their organization a touch of the "Social Service" color. Perhaps this is because their work brings them so frequently into the most intimate contacts with real suffering and even misery. The members of the "Societa Medica Italiana" do not play a very large and important part in the activities conducted by the younger generation. In the practice of their professions, however, they are constantly being thrown in with this rising group and so have come to understand thoroughly the specific conditions surrounding them. The importance of this contact is not to be underestimated. The fact remains however that this society is composed of individuals of a generation that is now fairly well along in years and the writer does not know of any one physician representing the younger school that is affiliated with it. It is most probable that the near future will see the rise of a new Italian Medical Society and that its constituency will be largely recruited from the younger men who have been born in this country or who have come here when very young. Before this is done no real evaluation of the contribution that American medical men of Italian extraction as a group have made, is possible.*

*Since this writing there has been formed the Italo-American Medical Society. Its president is Dr. Osnato. Dr. Amaroso

THE ITALIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

The Italian Teachers' Association was organized in 1912 and is composed of American men and women who are teaching in the public, high schools, and colleges of New York City and its vicinity. The total membership is 132. The following table shows the sex and grade of schools for the members:

	Male	Female
Public School....	16	24
High School	17	8
College and University	12	1
Private or other schools	32	12

Fully eighty per cent of the members of this organization are products of American schools and universities; eighty hold American degrees. The purpose of the association is to disseminate a wider knowledge and appreciation of the Italian language and Italian culture among not only Americans but also among the Italians themselves. For this reason the constitution states that Italian is to be the language in which official business of the organization is to be conducted.

The primary purpose of the Italian Teachers' Association is to agitate to the end that Italian be introduced into the high school curriculum. Meetings are held monthly.

Students in the various schools are urged to study the language of their fathers. The main reason for this is to avoid the very abrupt break between the old and the young generations, to which break ignorance of Italian contributes no small part.

At various intervals public gatherings are held and the distinguished men of the Italian colony are gathered together for the purpose of reminding the new generation of the great debt they owe to the land of their forefathers. Great emphasis is placed upon the neces-

is secretary and some of its most active organizers are Drs. De Vecchi, Rossano, Orlando, Di Palma and Salvatore. Meetings are held monthly on which occasion one or more speakers present a paper on a topic related to the profession of the members.

sity of being able not only to read and speak but to write the Italian language.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF THIS ORGANIZATION TO COMMUNITY—The Italian Teachers' Association is based upon a principle that is very praiseworthy — namely of seeking to carry over into the American life of Italian-speaking people those points in the life and customs of Italy that deserve preservation, perpetuation and imitation. Inasmuch as the grip of things Italian upon the life of these Americans is slender at best and in no way represents any conflicts or competition with influences and opportunities that make for Americanism — the contact is on the whole good. In some individual cases an extreme Italian nationalist may seek to subordinate things American, but this is the exception rather than the rule. An excellent opportunity is offered on the other hand for these individuals to derive the advantages of two civilizations or of two peoples that are in some things widely different.

THE ITALIAN LAWYERS' ASSOCIATION—The Italian Lawyers' Association was organized in 1905 in order that American lawyers of Italian extraction properly organized could better look after the political, educational, recreational and civic needs of the Italian-speaking constituencies they represented.

In a few years this organization had grown to very ambitious proportions. Regular meetings were held at which an address was delivered usually by some prominent attorney.

Under the auspices of the Italian Lawyers' Association various public gatherings were held in different parts of the city and at these meetings the Italian-speaking populace were told of the ways they could go about remedying social and economic and other conditions that needed improvement in their communities. In short, the work of the Association betook a social service rather than any strictly professional coloring.

RELATION AND EFFECT TO COMMUNITY—When the Italian Lawyers' Association was started it was intended that it be a general information center to Italian-speaking people on all matters involving legal

procedure. However, this purpose was strayed from and it relapsed into a loose and inactive society. The war helped this disintegrating process until to-day the organization is more an organization in name than anything else.

CIRCOLO NAZIONALE ITALIANO—The Italian National Club was organized eight years ago for the purpose of providing a place where individuals of Italian ancestry could meet and know one another. It was started very humbly at 5 W. 16th Street but the membership kept growing until larger quarters became necessary, and so the club moved to 11 E. 44th Street. Several years later the wonderful success with which the "Circolo" was meeting necessitated its removal to the four-story building at 119 W. 48th Street.

The chief organizers of the club were Celestino Piva, the wealthy silk manufacturer; Tocci, the banker; Solari, the steamship agent; Judge Freschi; Dr. Stella, and Mr. Pizzarro, of the Gerry Society.

Dues are $100 a year and the membership includes the better known Italians and Americans of Italian blood in the country such as Marconi, Caruso, Gatti-Casazza, D'Amato, Morisini, Fabbri, etc.

As a rule Italian is the chief language spoken, tho but 25 out of a total membership of 350 are not American citizens.

The chief activities of the Circolo Nazionale are:

1. To foster a deeper appreciation for things Italian.
2. To provide social intercourse for its members.
3. To furnish a place where non-resident members can eat and sleep while in New York.
4. The periodic holding of dances, dinners and other receptions to prominent Italians residing in New York and well-known Americans who were interested in things Italian.

The membership includes Americans of other descents than Italian. This element in actual numbers is twenty of the 324 odd members. The total membership distribution according to residence is:

Boroughs	Number of Members
Manhattan	108
Bronx	62
Brooklyn	94
Queens	21
Out of Town	12
	27
Total	324

Distribution according to professions, the membership was as follows:

Lawyers	52
Doctors	61
Business	123
Singers	11
Manufacturers	13
Bankers	17
Steamship Agents	16
Miscellaneous	31
Total	324

RELATION AND EFFECT TO COMMUNITY—The "Circolo Nazionale"* is the social organization "par excellence" of the Italian-speaking population. Its influence is not limited to New York City for its membership roll shows that fully one-fourth of the members come from out of town.

Economically this organization contributes nothing to the welfare of the members of the Italian colony excepting as it lends its rooms at times to different organizations for "welfare" purposes. It is essentially a "rich man's" club as the $100 annual dues show. As individuals however, the members of this group are always intensely interested in all attempts at uplift and relief for Italians wherever attempted.

Educationally the majority represent a training and discipline that is Italian rather than American. This is shown by the fact that the former language is more commonly used in the club's quarters. However, their training is broad and shows not only sympathy for but

*The name of this organization has recently been changed to the Italian Metropolitan Club and has moved its headquarters to the Hotel Netherlands. Its president is Cav. A. Portfolio and its secretary Luigi Allesandria.

understanding as well of all things that are American.

Socially the sphere in which the whole setting of this organization is cast is distinctly removed from that which the majority of the Italian people not only in New York City but in the United States know and are living in. Yet this setting is not American. While an Italian who has just arrived would have disclaimed it, it nevertheless is foreign. This "foreign" coloring militates against a full blown appreciation of Americanism.

This organization has never tried its hand at political questions but exists almost entirely as a high-class gentlemen's club where one can go after the day's work is done and enjoy a good cigar or have dinner and relaxation.

CHAPTER XIX

MISCELLANEOUS ORGANIZATIONS

INTRODUCTION—It is not difficult to show that organized activities conducted by Americans of Italian extraction run thru the entire gamut of all co-operative effort possible. As Roberts says, "the men of the new immigration are much given to organizations of various kinds."*

Neither is the descendant of the Italian lacking in this same trait so that instead of a fundamental lack of organization we see what almost amounts to a superfluity of organization effort. Organizations covering the same narrow field are duplicated many times over. To the question, does the American of Italian extraction co-operate, we answer emphatically, "Yes," and in so doing point out in addition to those previously discussed a miscellaneous number of different institutions not yet noted.

DRAMATICS

THE MARIONETTE THEATRE—Italian dramatics has had a rather checkered history or career in New York City. Attempts at the reproduction of Italian operas, plays, etc., have been numerous and frequent. In New York City at present there exist two Italian theatres on the lower East Side supported by their Italian adherents. Their plays, however, are given in Italian and their whole background presupposes a knowledge and appreciation of things fundamentally Italian. For the most part this appreciative background is lacking in the many thousands of Americans of Italian extraction living in New York City. They have neither time nor opportunity to develop such an appreciation. In a great measure this deficiency follows from their slender grip on the Italian language. Consequently, it is certain that such dramatics as exist are conducted by Italians — for those individuals of Italian blood that are preem-

* Roberts, Peter, "The New Immigration," p. 187.

inently Italian. They hold no place and offer little value to Americans of Italian extraction. These individuals secure their dramatic pleasures by attending the American theatres.

There has been, however, one attempt by an American of Italian extraction to present one phase of Italian drama to Americans. The Marionette theatre was started by Remo Bufano some eight years ago in the well known Richmond Hill Settlement on Macdougal Street. Playlets were given both in English and Italian. Little tales or stories of old Italian life were dramatized These playlets have a great hold not only on the Italian populace, but on all, for it revives one's appreciation of the chivalrous times of the past and presents an educative influence that is as real as it is novel. In this particular instance the director of the Marionette Theatre labored under great financial difficulties. He constructed his own marionettes and was forced to work under the most trying of circumstances. A marionette is a wooden figure made to represent some character of history, usually a knight, a priest, a dragon, or an ogre, etc. The marionette or wooden puppet is handled by means of a wire which is attached at the top-most part of the figure and is made to go thru the motions descriptive of the words which the marionette operator utters.

The recent spread of moving pictures has effectively eclipsed any possible extended interest in marionettes, so that aside from the value in preserving the traditional folk lore and legendary tales upon which the marionette playlets are based, the educational value is not sufficiently apparent to most people to warrant its having any extended vogue.

MUSICAL

INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL (ITALIAN DIVISION)—Music is innate with the Italian. The result is that almost every social institution or organization created by these people whether educational, religious, recreational, etc., dabbles in it. There is no special musical organization of note in the city that caters exclusively to Italians, but one can be sure to find in

every Italian-speaking church a choir, and in every settlement, a song or glee club.

It is true, however, that of late Italians have gone into the musical field from a commercial angle so that the Italian colonies thruout the city are dotted with teachers of music. These instructors gather about them a group of pupils and give individual instruction that is very effective. There are at least five hundred music instructors or so-called professors of music among Italian-speaking people in the greater city.

A recent attempt to organize the Italians effectively so that they could present their national music and airs in an interesting and instructive way is the attempt started by Mrs. Kenneth J. Muir, of 48 West 58th Street. Mrs. Muir organized the International Musical Festival Chorus which included an important section "composed of foreign born citizens and their descendants." In this section there is an Italian division.

The musical director for this division is the well known musical Prelate Francesco Magliocco. Under the leadership of Father Magliocco it was possible recently to present at Carnegie Hall a concert of exclusively Italian numbers. The splendid success that attended this virgin effort affords certain promise that repetitions will be frequent.

If it is true, as the symposium in a later chapter shows, that it is thru his artistic sense that the American of Italian extraction contributes most, then undoubtedly it is this musical sense that needs a great deal more of proper drawing out and opportunity for development. Steps should be taken to remove this "art sense" from the commercialized setting into which it is rapidly being surrounded. This festival chorus is a step headed in the right direction. We have been lax in conserving the immigrant heritage which our various immigrants have to contribute. In the case of the Italian particularly we have been profligate with his artistic heritage. There is no doubt that the Americans of Italian extraction bring to us all the innate musical potentialities of their ancestors. It remains for America to permit them to become fruitful.

EDUCATIONAL

THE VERDI LADIES AUXILIARY—Was organized in 1910 for the purpose of raising funds sufficient to erect a school in the "Little Italy" settlement in East Harlem. The idea was to duplicate a center for educational and social welfare work uptown as is at present being successfully conducted downtown at the Italian School on Hester and Elizabeth Streets.

The Verdi Auxiliary is conducted on thoroly modern club lines, and is continually active. Its meeting place is the Italian School where monthly gatherings are held. The Verdi Club is headed by the enterprising Mrs. Frank Zunino. In this she is assisted by the very able Miss Frugone, daughter of the owner and editor of the well-known Italian newspaper "Il Bolletino Della Sera." The members are all women and number about fifty. Their homes are scattered in various parts of the city and its suburbs. The majority of the members are of Genoese descent.

The members of the Verdi Auxiliary are examples of the finest type of Americans of Italian extraction in our midst. They come from homes where the people are comfortably well off. Not a few have been able to get a very good training. The group includes graduates from Barnard College, College of Mt. St. Vincent, Ursinus, and numerous private schools.

The main object of the Auxiliary is to raise funds for a large school or settlement to be called the Verdi School in Harlem, and in their endeavors to do this they have recourse to a variety of means.

During the last year the chief means resorted to was the giving of "periodic" teas at the Italian National Club. A substantial part of the fee charged was devoted to the fund. These teas were the occasion for dancing and social intercourse among the higher set of the Italian colony. Last year the receipts from this source netted thousands of dollars.

At other times various other expedients are employed. Dances, picnics, dramatic plays, etc., are prepared by the members. It is not uncommon to split the proceeds

with another organization, such as the Red Cross. This is an effort that is very commendable. The Verdi Auxiliary is based upon a sound principle and the future will see changed into a reality, that which is now with them a hope; namely, the erection of a modern equipped school building and social center for the Italian-speaking people of Harlem.

This organization properly restricts its activities to those Italians and Americans that have money. In this way only can it accomplish its purpose quickly.

THE ITALIAN INTERCOLLEGIATE ASSOCIATION—This is a federation of the college circoli that are located in the universities in the vicinity of New York City. Its constituent clubs take in Columbia University, City College of New York, Hunter College, New York University and Polytechnic. In scope the Italian Intercollegiate Association includes all that does the Menorah Intercollegiate Association among the collegiate Jews, minus its emphasis upon the question of religion and its now current emphasis upon a national state.

Stated in the words of the President of the Association A. J. Armore "the Italian Intercollegiate Association was organized to provide the college-bred American of Italian extraction, both men and women, who are destined by force of circumstances to become the leaders of their people — an opportunity to show others that the spirit of co-operation which is instilled in them during their college years will be a dominant factor in their later activities in connection with the problems of their race."*

Membership in the Federation is by club, not by individuals. A yearly fee is required of each club which sends two delegates to an Intercollegiate Club Council. The Intercollegiate Club Council has as its chief aim, the welding together of these clubs and their constituencies. To accomplish this, two activities were determined upon, (1) the holding of one major social event during the calendar year; (2) the publication of a journal or magazine.

* Italian Intercollegiate, No. 1, Vol. 1, Passim.

Both these activities had been actively under way when the war broke out, crippling this enterprise. During its two years of existence an annual ball was held, the first at the Hotel Netherlands and the second at the Hotel Majestic. Both these affairs were attended by the intellectual flower of the Americans of Italian extraction in New York City, and proved an immense success from every standpoint.

The publication of the Italian Intercollegiate was started shortly afterwards with the following aims printed on the cover sheet of its inaugural issue, viz:

"Aims of the "Italian Intercollegiate."

1. To publish a periodical of excellent worth and quality and so provide for the intelligent expression of the growing co-operative spirit of Italian-Americans. This by:

(a) Devoting its pages to Italian and Italian-American literature, art, social, educational and welfare work.

(b) Providing a permanent and intelligent means of creating an "esprit de corps" among the Italians in New York City.

2. To effectively protest against the too rapid lines of separation between the growing generation and the finer products of Italian culture, art, and industry. Furthermore, to help provide for the permanent retention in American culture of all forms of Italian achievement that have stood the test of time with respect to worth and value and should meet with greater diffusion.

3. To attempt to give to the growing group of Italian-Americans a sense of direction in their co-operation so as to make for a more rational spirit of unity.

4. To conduct a systematic literature campaign tending to make the Italian-American better understood.

5. To help prepare the soil of Italian-Americanism educationally, socially and politically out of which must spring a better love and appreciation for America and things American.

RELATION AND EFFECT TO COMMUNITY—It is this group that is to furnish the element of leadership for the one and one-half million Italian-speaking people

of the United States. It is of too recent origin and the war has served to interrupt its work so that no adequate conclusions can be drawn with respect to its effectiveness.*

THE ITALIAN SCHOLARSHIP FUND—was organized in 1917 by a committee of Americans of Italian extraction interested in helping a greater number of the younger Americans to continue longer in school. By means of small regular allowances to the family of a deserving child, the stay of the latter in school was made possible. The chairman of the committee distributing the fund is Dr. Racca; treasurer, Luigi Criscuolo. To date the fund has collected several hundred dollars and has awarded several scholarships.

DANTE ALIGHIERI SOCIETY—The Dante Alighieri Society of New York is a branch of the mother society of the same name located at Rome, Italy. It was incorporated in September 1912, and according to its president Joseph Francolini,—"it aims to propagate the Italian language and culture among foreigners everywhere. The New York Society holds meetings once a month. By means of literature and propaganda measures this society helps to keep alive the national prestige of Italy, and to maintain the Italian nationality among its immigrants, educating them to those healthy principles of liberty and of unity of which Dante Alighieri was the great apostle. Morally it depends for its support upon the Central Committee located in Italy; financially each branch is self-supporting."

The Dante Alighieri Society in Italy is composed of the most prominent men in politics, science, and art. In America, some very splendid branches have been organized. The Jersey City Society is perhaps the most flourishing of any in this country. The more scholarly element of the Italian colony finds its way into this

* Recently the Intercollegiate has taken up anew its original plan of activities and thanks to the interest of Commendatore Portfolio, Dr. De Vecchi and others will soon be able to push to a successful issue quite a few of its original undertakings.

organization and its meetings instance always a high quality of Italian literary values.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF DANTE ALIGHIERI SOCIETY TO COMMUNITY—In the Dante Alighieri Society we have the only example where an organization seeks deliberately and openly to disseminate the Italian language, Italian prestige, and Italian nationality among Italian immigrants in this country. It is safe to say, however, that to the "savant in art, science and politics" alone if to any one at all, can a mission of this sort be entrusted which will in no wise run counter to an unqualified appreciation of Americanism. Their message is not to raise Italy by belittling America, but rather to inculcate a broader and firmer grasp of things American by instilling in such individuals a deeper appreciation of the country of their origin.

DANTE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

The Dante League of America was organized several years ago by Mrs. Heloise Durant Rose. It includes in its membership perhaps more Americans than Italians. It is an instance of almost purely Anglo-Saxon effort to effect a wider appreciation of Italian art and culture, and in this it centers its attention for the most part upon the work and literature of Dante. The purpose of the league is to promote the knowledge and study of Dante, his works, language, literature and country, by popular lectures, and to prepare for a celebration in 1921 of the sixth hundreth anniversary of his death.

The league has already established a chapter at Buffalo. The president is William Roscoe Thayer, its vice-presidents are Henry Dwight Sedgwick and Prof. Christian Gauss of Princeton.

ANNUAL DUES

Regular members	$ 2.00
College and University Students	1.00
Patrons	50.00
Sustaining members	10.00
Benefactors	25.00
Life members	100.00

Plans are already begun for the Dantian celebration to be held in 1921 which will be an event of national importance and will enlist the talent and interest of many individuals and organizations interested in Italy.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF DANTE LEAGUE TO ITALIAN-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES—It is a question whether this essentially literary effort will reach down far enough to waken any deep and sustained interest on the part of the more numerous classes of Americans of Italian extraction in the literature and philosophy of Dante. As a matter of fact such is not the intention of the league. Their aim is first of all to disseminate among *all* a wider and deeper appreciation of Dante, his works, and language. This organization has a sociological value and so is listed here because it is from just such activities as these that the real worth of a nation, whether it be Italy or any other nation, may be gauged. The unfortunate thing tho, is that a more extended support to the Dante League of America does not come from Italians themselves.

FRATERNAL

ALPHA PHI DELTA—There are three Greek fraternities formed by Americans of Italian extraction and located in New York City. As fraternities are secretive, a good deal of the matter pertaining to their more intimate composition and history may not be divulged here. In few if any ways, however, excepting for that of a "common lineage" are they in any way different from other fraternities.

The Alpha Phi Delta Fraternity is located at Columbia College and is now in its fifth year. The Alpha Chapter is located at Syracuse University. The purpose of Alpha Phi Delta is to develop the social, educational, physical and moral welfare of its members by the usual program of fraternity life. The Chapter house is located at 600 W. 113th Street. The number of members at its date of inception, three years ago was fifteen; to-day this has grown to thirty-five.

The first prerequisite for membership, of course, is affiliation with Columbia. About fifty per cent of the members are doing work in the University's Graduate School, chiefly in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. There has been a strange tendency of late for Americans of Italian extraction to swing into medicine. Fully eighty per cent of the students in the college within the past three years have given this as their ultimate profession. The reason for this is difficult to determine. In part tho, it is due to the urging of the parents desirous of having a son in one of the professions, a fact conveying great prestige. In some cases, this forcing him into a vocation for which he may be fit solely thru the desires of the parent, rebounds to the lad's disadvantage. Already half a dozen fellows out of twenty or thirty students at Columbia who had chosen a medical calling have been forced to give it up.

As a group, Alpha Phi Delta carries on all of the social activities of any well-ordered fraternity. The members represent not only the best type of the Italian element that goes to Columbia but also those most fortunately situated financially. In this way they are able to carry on projects that Italians of other groups find impossible. They instance in this connection the normal character of development that is possible with people of Italian blood when permitted a normal chance of development. It is not meant that these individuals as members of Alpha Phi Delta are superior to other Americans of Italian extraction belonging to other groups but that the others have been submitted to influences that are largely subnormal.

This chapter has consistently refused to divert its efforts and support anything that is not of strictly "campus" origin. They have felt that unless this were so they would be departing from the strict observance of unwritten fraternity etiquette. While therefore as a group they have circumscribed the nature of the relations to that larger portion of the American community of which the Italian forms a part — nevertheless as individuals they have shown an unqualified spirit of spon-

taneous and generous co-operation with all things pertaining to the welfare and uplift of their people.

In the years to come these individuals will furnish the backbone of leadership and the key of understanding for the 700,000 Italians in New York City. Financially, they will dictate the policies for welfare and uplift; educationally, from their ranks must rise the pioneers in the great movement for the wholesale education of the Italian-speaking masses; and morally they will serve as the sources of inspiration and guide in the already well-defined general step upward.

SIGMA PHI THETA—This fraternity was organized at the Italian Industrial School in 1915. The former Superintendent of Schools of the Children's Aid Society and its Principal were interested in this movement from the start and helped formulate its ritual, constitution, and by-laws, etc. Its meetings are held in the same school and its members before the war totalled twenty-five. They were chosen from the colony of Italians living in the Mulberry Bend section and have up to the present kept together, showing a fine spirit of co-operation and mutual helpfulness.

DELTA OMEGA PHI—This is the third fraternal organization located in New York City whose members are all of Italian extraction. The ages of the twenty odd members vary from twenty-one to thirty. About one-half are married.

This organization is so secretive that very little information about its activities may be divulged here. As a type they represent the finest expression of Americanism that is to be seen among Americans of Italian extraction. Its organizers were Oleri, Barbieri, Dr. Croce, Dr. Verrilli and Belserene.

SOCIAL WELFARE

THE ITALICA GENS—The Italica Gens is a free federation of the Italian Catholic clergy in the United States supported by the Italian National Association for Catholic Missionaries. The federation maintains a gen-

eral information bureau which devotes special attention to the distribution of Italian immigrants. One of its important functions is to induce Italian immigrants to locate in farm colonies. This bureau is at present being conducted under the able leadership of Father Grivetti, D. D.

Besides its character as a general clearing house for information it assists in finding work, tracing lost persons and packages, exacts salaries and compensations for accidents, secures homes for orphans and invalids, helps the sick and poor with free transportation to Italy, writes and transmits correspondence for the illiterate, and supplies copies of official documents, etc. All this is done without distinction being paid to race, tho Italians are heavily in the majority among those receiving such aid. No fees are exacted for these services.

The Italica Federation also supplies all kinds of Italian labor, including waiters and servants, farmers and gardeners, etc. Offices are maintained in all of the boroughs of New York City as well as thruout the United States and Canada.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF THIS ORGANIZATION TO THE COMMUNITY—This is an organization that is interested in helping the individual and resembles more nearly the working of our own Charity Organization Society than any other organization doing a similar work among Italians.

RECREATIONAL

THE ITALIAN AMERICAN SCOUTCRAFT ASSOCIATION—The Italian American Scoutcraft Association was started in April 1917, and was organized for the purpose of bringing the "scouting" program to the Italian speaking boys not only in New York City but thruout all the Italian colonies in the United States.

Apart from the recreational aspect that "scouting" presents in the development of any boy, this particular association was created for the purpose of assisting in Americanizing the thousands of Americans of Italian ex-

traction located in this country. As such it was recognized by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America and was accorded an unusual amount of sympathy and even financial support from the Chief Scout Executive, James E. West of the Boy Scouts of America.

In no way do the actual scouting features indulged in by troops organized by this association differ from those organized elsewhere. The supervision in both instances is the same. The association seeks to enlist the sympathies and efforts of the Italian heads of the institutions where Americans of Italian extraction are in any number, to the end that they may undertake to take up "scouting" as a form of institutional activity for their boys.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF "SCOUTCRAFT ASSOCIATION" TO COMMUNITY—This association represents an attempt to create a national medium thru which might be reflected a distinctly American program and American boys of Italian extraction be made to directly benefit therefrom. There are two distinct advantages that arise in connection with this enterprise. One is the intimate affiliation with an organization representing a distinctly American coloring such as is the Boy Scouts of America. The second is the development of an "esprit de corps" among the scout troops in Italian colonies that makes them feel that they are part of a large American movement that commands the respect and support of all Americans.

The association has met with a wide support from both Italian and American elements. The boys themselves have taken to it, as some five hundred scouts enrolled in its activities can testify.

ARTS AND INDUSTRY

There are innumerable companies, societies and other organizations scattered thruout New York City engaged in imitating, copying and putting forth samples of Italian art and industry for solely commercial purposes. It would be a bit risky to describe the character of the

work of such organizations because in part it is modified by their necessities for meeting commercial standards.

SCUOLA D'INDUSTRIE ITALIANE—This school is the one instance of its kind that we have in the city, engaged in revising the lost art of Italian needlecraft and embroidery for purposes that are not commercial. At frequent intervals there have been attempts to bring back to popular vogue the unsurpassable and exquisite forms of Italian handicraft in laces. In this particular instance art is being produced for art's sake. The attempt is commendable not only because it is unique and is the only institution of its kind in New York City but because the Scuola fills what has been discovered to be a very real gap between the past and the present. It is a pity that greater attention is not paid to the proper relation and conservation of both the industrial and artistic handicraft representing part of the immigrant heritage that the Italian-speaking population has to offer us. Each race of immigrants has its own peculiar contribution to render and in the sphere of artistic handiwork such as lace, embroidery, etc., the Italian has for a long period of years been without a peer.

In 1905 the Scuola D'Industrie Italiane was founded from the desire of reviving the beautiful Italian art of the needle among the Italian women of America. It was hoped that this result if attained even in slight degree, would call attention to the artistic skill of our Italian immigrants who possess qualities rich in possibilities for beauty and good which we, too often overlooking, allow to be perverted or lost in occupations uncongenial or unsuited to their temperaments.

Some years ago there sprang up in Italy, quite spontaneously, a revival of the old local hand industries stimulated and encouraged by patriotic and philanthropic women who eventually founded Le Industrie Femminili, a co-operative society in which the King, Queen and the Queen's mother were interested.

The work has prospered so that now there are a number of successful enterprises renowned for their lace and linen specialities such as the Aemilia Arts at Bologna,

the Marchesa Sorbello's School at Passignano and Marchesa De Vitti de Marco's in the south.

Of the women interested, no one has been more instrumental in establishing these old hand arts than Signorina Carolina Amari of Florence, whose taste and knowledge are everywhere in demand when a new "*laboratorio*" is to be opened. Her own collection of examples of early embroideries and laces is a storehouse of historic and artistic information upon which school after school has drawn. This fountain of inspiration as well as her personal services Signorina Amari placed at the disposal of the committee formed in New York at the time of the opening of the Scuola in the heart of the Italian colony at 28 Macdougal Street.

There is another object which the committee has had in mind in undertaking this work — the wish to bear a part in the pioneer work of establishing art studio centers where the wage-earners of our great cities who are fitted for, or desire to pursue, hand arts may have opportunities to apply themselves to their work with something of the freedom of choice which the machine or mercantile worker finds in the factory and the shop. The real wage-earner, especially our immigrant woman wage-earner coming to us with a heritage of hand deftness and artistic skill, has had among us practically neither shop nor mart for her valuable skilled labor.

The Scuola's endeavor has been not so much to establish a school in which to train workers and then send them out to their life work but rather to maintain a Scuola in the old-time meaning and spirit of the word — a place where master and artisan work together, side by side, in the production of things of beauty and worth.

The first year and a half of the Scuola's existence was naturally its experimental period; but during the last four years the work has been entirely self-supporting, a fact which leads one to hope that it may now be regarded as permanently established in our city life.

The workroom is still at 28 Macdougal Street, and has been successively under the able superintendance of Signora D'Annunzio and of her no less skilled sister, Signora de Blasio. A small shop is maintained at 1 East

45th Street, where an everchanging stock is exhibited of the articles produced by the Scuola's workers.

The year 1908 was particularly signalized by the gracious interest shown in the undertaking by Her Majesty, Queen Margherita, who has taken the Scuola under her personal patronage. The emblem adopted by the Scuola — the two-tailed Mediterranean mermaid or Sirena (the Amari coat-of-arms)— was a choice especially favored by the Queen Mother as typifying the women's work of all Italy — "il bel paese ch' Appennin parte e'l mar circonda e l'Alpe."

The aim is to aid Italian women directly, to draw the attention of the public by sales and exhibitions of work to the more valuable and appealing side of our Italian immigration, and to help in the establishment of industrial art studios among the wage-earners of our population.

RELATION AND EFFECT TO COMMUNITY—The Scuola has had the active sympathy, co-operation and financial support of many prominent Americans including the Roosevelts, Giddings, C. A. Plimpton, Seth Low, M. E. Stone, the Colgates, and Jane Addams.

A technical committee whose members are careful students of laces and embroideries has endeavored not only to have faithful copies made of antique designs but to reproduce their spirit in suitable adaptations to modern needs, some of the more common designs are the Francesca, Acorn, Taormina, Macrome, Florentine, etc. These old Italian designs are woven into table cloths, curtains, napkins, children's articles, bedspreads, — and are a definite link between the old world and the new. It is the one intelligent link between the past and the present that has not been defiled by rampant commercialism.

The workers in the Scuola are all of Italian stock and keep alive a true spirit of Italy at its highest. It instances to Americans a value of Italy that is not generally known. The idea of attempting to preserve and carefully guard the particular heritage that any nation has to make is new. This Scuola is an instance showing

intelligent social action on this point at least. The Italians themselves are proud of the Scuola and point it out as something that is really Italian.

THE ITALIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

INTRODUCTION—The Italian School started sixty-four years ago on the 10th of December, 1855, in the one room of an old dilapidated frame house which was the property of the Five Points House of Industry and located at 155 Worth Street. The school started with an attendance of about fifty pupils which consisted of both men and women. It was founded by Mr. Ernest Fabbri. The first teacher was Mr. Cerqua.

The Italian School stayed in this building twelve years, until 1867, when it was moved to 44 Franklin Street. It soon outgrew its new quarters and four years later, 1871, it was moved into a larger building, next door, 46 Franklin Street.

The growth of the school continued and three years later, 1874, the school was moved to 155 Leonard Street in a building erected especially for this purpose. The school occupied this site for thirty-five years.

Its growth and needs becoming greater, it finally was moved to 155 Worth Street, the exact spot where the school started fifty-four years before. The old frame building in which the school was started, had been torn down and replaced by a large eight-story modern structure. In fifty-four years the school had traveled around and back to its starting place. The city's need for the Worth Street site caused an additional removal, a new ten-story modern fire-proof building was erected on the corner of Hester and Elizabeth Streets thru the generosity of Arthur Curtiss James, in whose honor today the building is called the James Memorial Building.

The new building is believed by experts to be the best example of a social settlement school and cost $300,000. It is not only up-to-date in every appointment but attractive in appearance.

The school had during 1916-17 an enrollment of 2500.

Some new features recently added are a Day Nursery, Moving Pictures, Open Air Class and Open Air Playground.

The Principal is Mrs. L. E. Deferrari-Weygandt*, who has been connected with the school for forty-two years and to whom the success and the rapid progress of the school are largely due. She is the dominating spirit of the "Five Points" and is respected and loved by the entire community.

Mrs. Weygandt's work is being taken over by her daughter, Lillian J. Weygandt, who in turn its being assisted by Miss Irma Liccione. Both Miss Weygandt and Miss Liccione are graduates of Barnard College and they bring to their work a point of view that is one hundred per cent American.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF THE ITALIAN SCHOOL TO COMMUNITY—The place that the Italian School has in relation to the large Italian colony downtown is as unusual as it is important. It is the largest organized centre for educational and social welfare work among Italians in the lower part of the city.

It conducts a varied programme. Besides the regular day school, supervised by the Board of Education of New York City, it has a large evening school with an attendance in the winter totalling 1000 pupils. Apart from regular academic instruction, classes are held in cooking, sewing, embroidery, carpentry, sign painting and printing. A large number of boys and girls enter the recreational, athletic, dramatic clubs, which meet there. It is the best ordered and best equipped agency for social work among Italians not only in Manhattan but thruout the entire city.

Most of all, this institution has thruout its many years of existence slowly gained the confidence and respect of the Italian-speaking population and any activity that emanates from within its walls, is assured of their sympathy and co-operation.

The school has made a major feature of citizenship and English language classes. It represents a high-grade Americanizing agency. Its success has been so marked that it has been an inspiration for the Verdi Ladies

* Deceased Feb. 20, 1921.

Auxiliary to duplicate a similar institution in the Little Italy colony in Harlem.

SOCIETY FOR ITALIAN WOMEN—The Society for Italian Women was organized some years ago at the Greenwich House with Mrs. C. F. Bound, president, and Mrs. Simkhovitch, vice-president. Its chief aim was to further the education of Italian-speaking girls by means of scholarship and vocational advice. Besides this it seeks to act as a general clearing house for all social agencies dealing with Italian girls sixteen years old and over.

This society holds that there are certain advantages to be had in retaining with the American girl of Italian extraction the distinctive traits she inherits from her ancestors. They feel that in making lace, in following music, art and other industrial and handicraft activities, these first generations of Americans are preserving and perpetuating their Italian heritage and are doing more for America and for themselves than if they went into a factory or learned a trade.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF THIS SOCIETY TO ITALIAN COMMUNITY—Education for women in Italy is not a general thing and considering the economic status of the majority of cases with which a society of this sort has to deal its first aid must be of a financial character.

By means of a liberal distribution of scholarships the parents of the girls receiving them are able to live without the assistance of their children who would otherwise be in the factories. Vocational advice now can be offered and applied and such a child is permitted to apply herself uninterruptedly to the task of turning out lace, music, embroidery or of learning the Italian language in a way as not to make a real Italian blush for shame. The principle underlying this organization is fundamentally sound and it fills a much desired need. Most of the difficulty which the charitable and social welfare organizations started for Italian-speaking people encounter in their efforts to be effective, overlook the economic basis upon which all such efforts must rest if they

are not to fail. In this instance the money that this society has been able to collect and distribute by means of scholarships to Italian girls has been worth the effort expended.

PROPAGANDA ORGANIZATION

THE ROMAN LEGION—There are two organizations doing propaganda work among Americans of Italian extraction in New York City. Both are of recent origin and owe their inception in a large measure to conditions arising directly from the war. One of the direct consequences of the war was to create a renewed interest in Italy and things Italian. The Roman Legion of America was organized by Dr. Antonio Stella and Judge John J. Freschi to combat the insidious forms of Bolshevism that threatened to creep into the Italian mind. The Roman Legion is an organization of Americans of Italian descent organized for patriotic purposes and particularly for the combating of enemy propaganda among the Italian-speaking population of America.

The particular purpose of the Legion is to counteract false reports about the army and navy and temper of the people both in Italy and in the United States which enemy agents have been actively circulating among Italian-speaking people. During the war counter propaganda thru the Italian press and thru a special corps of speakers had been organized and this work was followed up by intensive patriotic work conducted in various parts of the country thru local committees.

The following resolution adopted at its first meeting and sent to President Wilson is an indication of the general tone and spirit of this organization:

"The New York City Division of the Roman Legion of America, a national organization devoted to meeting pro-German propaganda, in convention assembled:

"Resolves to place at the disposal of the National Government and of the State authorities our facilities and our services to the end that Hun lies disseminated among the Italian-speaking people of America shall be met with truth.

"We appeal to the people of Italian origin to support by every means at their command, thru the press and otherwise, the President of the United States, the Governor of the State of New York and the administration in each city of the state in this war.

In the words of the President of the Legion:

"This organization will seek to form together a National organization of defence against the enemy propaganda but we want to throw all our resources instantly into the struggle, to preserve the spirit of endurance of our people at home and the morale of our troops at the front. We want to organize for home service. But besides its immediate purpose, this Legion may have a further significance in the future, and may plant the seed of a powerful alliance of all Italian resources in this country for concerted work after the war, when the reconstruction period will begin.

"The Legion will have a dual function; on the one hand, it will try to unearth and discover and nullify pro-Germanism wherever it is lurking; on the other hand it will assert and reaffirm our confidence and pride in the great work that the United States and Italy are doing for the benefit of mankind and will try to focus the attention of the public on these achievements. Such an alliance may bridge the gulf which now separates public opinion in the two countries, clearing up and eliminating misunderstandings, and interpreting the efficient work of one country in behalf of the other."*

ITALY AMERICA SOCIETY—The other organization recently formed to create a more sympathetic union between the peoples of Italy and of America is the Italy-America Society. The President of this society is Mr. Charles E. Hughes; its vice-president Mr. Thomas W. Lamont. During the war this society sought by means of the fullest use of modern publicity methods to put forth the correct position of Italy in the present war. This was done by means of speeches, conferences, social gatherings, patriotic functions, etc. It was upon the instigation of this society that President Wilson desig-

* Dr. Antonio Stella.

nated the last May 24th as Italy Day, and called upon all loyal Americans of all extractions to do honor to Italy for the part she played in the war.

The society conducted a series of parades and other out-door gatherings at which speakers in both English and Italian explained how important Italy was to the Entente's cause. In the evening of that same day an important reception was held at Carnegie Hall at which speeches by the Italian Ambassador, Secretary of War Baker, Charles E. Hughes and other notables were delivered. The crowd was so immense that thousands were refused admittance. This event was considered important enough for Il Carroccio to dedicate a memorial volume to this occasion.

RELATION AND EFFECT OF THESE ORGANIZATIONS TO COMMUNITY—It is too early to judge yet the full value of the work of either of these two organizations described because of their recency.* Of late the Italy America Society has widened its scope and gives promise of being the most influential organization engaged in the task of intellectual interpretation of Italy to Americans. A great deal of the success of this organization is due to its able manager, Irwin Smith. Great things are expected of this organization in the future.

THE ITALIAN BUREAU OF PUBLIC INFORMATION—We put in here no description save the mere mentioning by name of this bureau. It is purely an Italian activity subsidized by the Italian Government and aims to present the merits and force of Italy's position in the war. It has offices at 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue. Its methods are those of publicity of facts thru all the channels of legitimate propaganda. It issues a fortnightly bulletin called "Italy To-day." The Bureau during the war was under the direction of the well-equipped Dr. Felice Ferrero whose associate is Prof.

* Recently two other organizations have been formed which aim to help Italy. These are The Italian Welfare League and The Tribute to Italy.

Costa of City College. Because of its purely Italian complexion no discussion is attempted here of its activities other than to state that for the American of Italian extraction it offers little that he can be said to appreciate. Its greatest usefulness perhaps is with Italians located in centers away from New York.

PART V

WHAT THE AMERICAN OF ITALIAN EXTRACTION CONTRIBUTES TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER XX

INTRODUCTION

REASONS FOR PHRASE "AMERICANS OF ITALIAN EXTRACTION" — What does the American of Italian extraction contribute to our American democracy? Thruout this study the hyphen Italian-American has been carefully avoided in order not to lead anyone to the conclusion that we are concerned with a type that is hyphenated. The term Italian-American is a hyphen of objectionable character. One of the results of the war has been to develop a strong sentiment antagonistic to hyphenated citizenship. The "state" is justified in asking that its citizens be one hundred per cent citizens. In our country whether one is anything else is a matter of great importance because of the remarkable heterogeneity of racial stocks. Different ethnic elements in a population, unquestionably tend to create communities within communities. Prof. Jastrow's views of hyphenated citizenship will repay one for the reading.* He raises the question whether a Jew sould divide his allegiance between Palestine and the country where he made his home. It cannot be said that even to-day this concept of "Americanism" is as clear cut as we would like to have it.** In speaking of the individuals concerned in

*See remarks by Dr. Jastrow, Jr., on "The Danger of a Hyphenated Citizenship." Menorah Journal, June 1918.

**The way different writers have looked on this point is shown by the following quotations, viz: "Of course a man who is born in a foreign country is in every sense of the word a foreigner though he may have been Americanized by his residence in the United States." Federation, July 1912, p. 41.)

"In one sense all the inhabitants of the United States are immigrants. The only exception would be the descendants of

our study the fact of their Americanism is a matter that can scarcely be said to be universally accepted. The contention offered thruout is that the second generation of Italians are Americans first and last. One grants that in many cases the type is not normal or what we would like to see obtain when we think or speak of the ultimate American type. But essentially they are Americans of a type created, shaped, and formed in a large part by American life and American conditions.

DEFINITION OF DEMOCRACY—When we come to define Democracy we come to a still more difficult problem. Democracy has been defined by many and the definitions have been as varied as has been the number of people so defining. To many DEMOCRACY is a word used synonymously with AMERICANISM. In a symposium contributed to by many leaders of American thought it was seen that each individual who attempted a definition unconsciously interpreted "democracy" according to the peculiar bent of his own experience.* How undetermined and unanalyzed "democracy" as a concept still is, Prof. Hamilton shows with great clearness.** Prof. Giddings questioning thousands of immigrants regarding what they thought Americanism represented to them said that two ideas stood out most prominently

* "What is Americanism" American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 20, pp. 433-486; 613-628.

** "The Price System and Social Policy." W. H. Hamilton, Journal of Political Economy, January, 1918.

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the aborigines." (Extrait du Bulletin de l'Institut International de Statistique, p. 38. Dr. Richmond Mayo-Smith.)

"It is unreasonable to expect that an adult who has spent the early years of his development in a foreign country can in his own life time be assimilated if by assimilation we mean that complete absorption into the body politic so as to make it impossible to recognize him as of foreign birth. If assimilation in that sense is to be the standard for the admission of immigrants, then it is very doubtful whether any immigrants could logically be admitted. It is doubtful however whether anyone seriously expects that such assimilation is possible excepting in rare instances." (Albert Shiels, "The School and the Immigrant" p. 8, Division of Reference and Research, Bulletin 11, Department of Education, New York City.)

(1) opportunity for a better chance educationally, economically, etc., and (2) prestige (America was a country big and powerful), that the American flag stood for bigness rather than for the feeling of reverence that goes with generations of living.

It would be both interesting and instructive to list some of the current notions of "democracy." The first is an Italian's "the progress of all for all under the leadership of the best and the wisest"—Mazzini (quoted by N. Murray Butler) in "True and False Democracy"; "Democracy's chief essential feature should be the supremacy of the people's brain" (Albert Stickney—"Organized Democracy," p. 238); "Externally Democracy is a piece of machinery — internally it is the effective embodiment of the moral idea which consists in the development of all the social capacities of every individual of society" (Dewey and Tufts; Ethics, p. 474); "as a form of government democracy consists in the actual administration of political affairs through universal suffrage — as a form of the state it is popular sovereignty, i. e., popular distribution of formal political power" (Franklin H. Giddings; Democracy and Empire, p. 203); "democracy must risk its success on the integrity of human nature" (Progressive Democracy—Herbert Croly, p. 27); "democrary is an expression of the worth and intelligence of the individual — it is a spirit, a viewpoint, an expression of faith in the ability of society as a whole to govern itself (Geo. H. Betts, Social Principles of Education, p. 83); "the end goal of democracy is a social goal. It is the improvement, physical, intellectual and moral, of the millions who make up the democracy. It is such an advancement and increase of the progressive masses that the gains made in the political and industrial fields may be increased, retained and wisely utilized" (The New Democrary—Walter E. Weyl, p. 319); "democracy is a way of life, a use of freedom and embrace of opportunity" (Walter Lippman, "Drift and Mastery," p. 16).

If we may be permitted a socio-psychological definition of what we consider democracy to mean it would be something like this — "that form of social organiza-

tion within which there is permitted to a maximum number of individuals a maximum opportunity for a maximum functioning of a maximum number of socially acceptable original capacities maximally developed."* In less technical language this can be understood to mean a condition of society where each and every man has a fair chance to develop himself according to his own predispositions and *knows* that he has that chance.

Having marked out clearly the type of individual whose contribution we are discussing and having defined what we understand to be the meaning of democracy in this connection it remains for us to show how these two are tied up and effect what we understand to be the chief problem in our American society from a socio-ethnic standpoint, namely the synthetization of our composite population groups from the standpoint of one of these groups, i.e., the Italian.

* This definition of ours follow the usage of the language of Thorndike whose study of human instincts for all cooperative action seems the furthest advanced to-day. As such, though, it is not closed to certain objections. See—Human Nature in Politics, W. C. Mitchell, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 29.

CHAPTER XXI

OLD IDEAS REGARDING ITALIANS

INCOMPLETE KNOWLEDGE OF ITALIAN—The American of Italian extraction has sprung from a people that are unfortunately too little known. The French have a proverb which when translated means "To understand is to excuse." If not only the Italian but the dozens of other racial groups were better understood perhaps less of what is really condemnable would be found.

Fortunately the older idea that a large proportion of the Italians who come to our shores are registered members of a Black Hand or a Camorra society, is being rapidly if not altogether dispelled to-day. Also universally rejected, to-day, is the concept that if an Italian does not secure his living in this surreptitious manner he is a beggar or an organ-grinder or some other semi-parasitic creature. There was a time when the more important task in interpreting foreigners (and this holds true of all nationalities) was to explain away traditional fallacies and leave to some future generation the task of intelligent constructive interpretation. In this day however, the task is to point out the nature and background of the Americans of different racial stocks that are with us, and show what are the positive aspects of real worth and value that their natures offer.

In the case of the racial type under our observation the great physical enterprises of our country, industrial plants and public utilities are silent but eloquent monuments of their real worth. No better statement of the fundamental steadiness and soberness of character of these people is to be had than the statement of the late Mayor Gaynor, who in speaking of the Italians said: "Take the Italian whom all of us are so ready to condemn as undesirable citizens — with all of them departed tomorrow this nation would come to an absolute standstill." So much for the parents of the type we are studying and whom we have ruled out of this study as being

too far ingrained with the culture of the "homeland" to be able to contribute creatively to American democracy.

TYPE OF ITALIAN THAT COMES HERE—Incidental to this problem, but important in helping to create a snap judgment, is the fact that the type of Italians that come here are not Italy's favored sons. By far the majority of these people are people whose ancestors came from the southern part of Italy where economic and intellectual advantages afforded are exceedingly subnormal. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that these people are lowest in the scale of culture among immigrants that come to our shores. Of this difference between the Northern and Southern Italians, Stella has said: "The mistake is in assuming that such is due to innate deficiencies. More than otherwise such inferiority of mental and social standing is a consequence of the lack of opportunity."* For in the large, if immigration to America has done naught else, it has proved that but few race characteristics, if any, are fixed. Should some skeptic wish to be convinced on this point, let him visit such towns as South Bend, Indiana, Scranton, Pennsylvania, or Youngstown, Ohio, and look at the Slavs or Italians who came here twenty years ago. Let him go among those who have had the full advantage of our environment, our standard of living, of education and enlightening religion. He will find what we call real characteristics almost obliterated from the faces of even the first generation. The sluggish Pole has become vivacious, the fiery Italian has had his blood cooled to a temperature approved by even the most fastidious of those who believe that fervor and enthusiasm are not signs of good breeding.**

RECENCY OF ITALIAN IMMIGRATION—As important as any other single fact is the comparative recency of Italian immigration. As our statistics showed no Italian immigration of any moment appeared before 1882 when but 32,160 entered. As late as 1850 there were fewer than 4000 immigrants from Italy in the whole United States. From that time on until 1914 — the year

* Stella, Antonio Dr., Effetti dell'Urbanismo, p. 44.

** Steiner, "The Immigrant Tide," p. 55.

of the Great War the annual immigration from Italy has steadily increased until it had reached the stupendous figures of 283,738 or 5000 more, in 1914, than entered from Austria-Hungary which was its nearest competitor. Two-fifths of the entire afflux from Italy directed itself to this country, the remaining going to South America.* These hundreds of thousands are excluded from this study. It is with their children as it is with the growing generations of the descendants of the thirty-three other immigrant races that the hope of America chiefly lies.**

FRICTION DUE TO MAL-ADJUSTMENT—Much of the friction and misunderstanding encountered in dealing with these people is due to the social maladjustment. Ignorance of the language, lack of comprehension of the laws and their purpose make for frequent disorder. It is because of this lack of proper setting or "sociological milieu" that nine-tenths of the troubles of this class arise. Dr. Jones says on this point "the Italians have come here from a land of sunshine to a land of climatic extremes and to a city government of alternating laxity and legal restraint. . . . their curiosity often expends itself in acts of disorder and law-breaking prompted by the desire to see how far they can go in this land of the free."

Whether the American of Italian extraction is able to make an effective contribution to American democracy is dependent in a large measure upon heredity. Whether he actually makes it or not, assuming the hereditary basis to exist, is dependent for the most part upon the socio-politico-economic organization and environment of the land in which he lives. On the former point Professor Steiner, who has studied these people first-hand, has stated that "Race characteristics which were regarded as biological, are found to be sociological, and on the outside, not the inside"; on the latter Boodin has shown that "Differences between standards of cultures and customs which constitute the web of life of one

* Tittoni, Senator Tommaso, Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy, p. 162.

** Census poplation 1910.

people as distinct from another, are sociological not psychological."*

If the belief were to continue and spread that the peoples constituting the newer generation are objectionable because they are unassimilable, mentally inferior and morally degenerate, and that they persist in maintaining a standard of living that in time will undermine the welfare of this nation (when as we have seen above these differences are differences in opportunity for the most part) the outcome would be manifestly unfair to those constituting the "newer generation." America's foremost place has been assured to her in the past because she has never given herself up to this narrow philosophy.

In this connection, Grace Abbott of the Federal Children's Bureau, has delivered herself with no uncertain force: "To many Americans the so-called foreign colonies in New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, seem to be reproductions of Italy, Greece, Poland or Russia. But to the immigrant the street on which he lives is so unlike the one on which he lived at home, that he believes them to be thoroughly American. These foreign neighborhoods of ours are neither Italian, Greek, Polish or Russian, nor are they American. A sympathetic knowledge of the hopes and life of the peoples of these un-American American neighborhoods is rare among us. . . . there are Americans who resent an immigrant as an outsider. Some feel that to take account deliberately in our social planning of differences in customs and traditions would be dangerous recognition of our un-Americanism. Those Americans consider our institutions more important than the ends these institutions were created to serve."**

* "Social Systems," J. E. Boodin, American Journal of Sociology, May 1918.

** Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 12 —Social Control, "The Immigrant in Community Planning," pp. 166 passim.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PRESENT VIEWPOINT

It is not difficult to show the inaccuracy of the charges outlined in the last section, that were made both against the Italian and the younger generation. The best evidence is the activities organized, administered and entered into by both these people. Industries of every description and all of the professions alike afford conclusive testimony in certifying to the general co-operative qualities of these peoples.

With respect to agriculture, Prof. Geddes, Jr., states "that their influence can be felt in many garden sections cultivated in this country where they have made the rocky hills bloom as the rose." On this same point we quote in full the reply to our symposium of Prof. Lindley M. Keasbey formerly of the University of Pennsylvania and Bryn Mawr College, now editor of The International:

"European civilization is made up of two parts; the Beer and Butter civilization of the North, and the Wine and Oil civilization of the South. The beer and butter people are made up of Nordics and Alpines; and the wine and oil people are predominately of Mediterranean stock.

"Our environmental conditions are such as to give rise to Beer and Butter and a Wine and Oil civilization in the United States. Except, however, for the Spanish and French, our Wine and Oil region has been occupied and developed for the most part by Anglo-Saxons and Teutons who are Beer and Butter people. As Nordics and Alpines they have done well in their strenuous ways. But when all is said they have not really adapted themselves to our wine and oil conditions, nor have they made of this Southern section what it is destined to be.

"This I take is the chief contribution of Americans of Italian descent. They have gone into and are developing our Southern Sea Board States, and wherever they go

they are continuing the good work begun by their Wine and Oil predecessors, the Spanish and the French. The Italians really understand the true characteristics of Mediterranean civilization and are the very best of all the Wine and Oil people to realize the possibilities in the United States."

Coming to their industrial position, their energy and initiative are apparent. In the wine industry the biggest merchants in California are of Italian stock. Nor are they confined to this. In 1909 the working population of Italian blood in the United States approximated 1,200,000. Their condition* in industry is shown approximately as follows:

Engaged in agriculture	80,000
Engaged in mines of all sorts	100,000
Working in industrial establishments of all sorts	500,000
Working in building industries including railroads	520,000
Living in centers of less than 100,000 population	200,000
Living in centers of more than 100,000 population	1,000,000

Of the total working population of Italian lineage in the United States approximately 800,000 or sixty-seven per cent were engaged in agriculture abroad, whereas in this country only 6.6 per cent are so engaged. These figures are eloquent testimony to the "industrial" place that the Italian holds in this nation's upbuilding. Scudder found that fully eighty-two per cent of this strain were industrially employed.**

One who has lived among them and travelled thruout all their country says, "the Italian is a hard worker and a valuable element which is to our national character 'molto simpatico.' He is honest, thrifty, industrious, and friendly. He has the high spirited temperament and gaiety that Northern nations so conspicuously lack.

* Dr. Alberto Pecorini, "The Italian as an Agricultural Laborer." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 38, 1909.

** Scudder — "Suggestions on Methods of Work and the Course of Study for Italian Children."

We like him and we need him for our business. He has made our waste places "bloom as the rose."†

Another aspect of their enterprises discloses this better than anything else. There are something like three thousand individual fruit selling enterprises conducted by Italian-speaking peoples in New York City. Fruit raising is the nature and form of their almost instinctive calling here.

The greatly increasing number of professionally employed Americans of Italian blood within the past two decades is one of the most gratifying phenomena to those desiring a speedy Americanization. Twenty years ago such individuals were so few that they could almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. In fact so few were they that many individuals are living to-day who can recall every professionally employed American of this type. To do this to-day, however, is impossible. They dot the Italian colonies and are rapidly branching out in sections where the inhabitants are not of an Italian complexion at all.

Every "circolo" was questioned by the writer regarding the future vocation of the members and fully eighty per cent had definitely chosen a professional calling. Leadership and initiative, we are beginning to see, was but held in abeyance and awaited the first favorable opportunity for expression. America has given this opportunity freely.

PRACTICAL EXPERIENCES OF SOCIAL WORKERS REGARDING THEIR QUALITIES OF CO-OPERATION—To the superficial observer the different customs and habits of Italians living in different streets may seem to show a lack of organization and an apparent disunity. Yet when one looks into the question more deeply than is discernable on the surface of things, one finds an extremely numerous variety of organizations, societies, clubs and associations, all bringing out the very social character of this type and the very ready way in which they enter into organization and adapt themselves to common tasks and community purposes.

None are better fitted to testify on the subject than

† Train, Arthur.

"social workers." These individuals every day of their lives go into the homes, observing the American of Italian extraction minutely, and thereby get a true picture of the actual interests that grip him and for which he gives both his time and his money. Most expressive, and at the same time most picturesque, is the testimony of Dr. Peter Roberts who, when he asked if the Italians formed organizations and cooperated, was met with the response: "O Lord, their organizations are so many you can't count them." The Italian's love for companionship and "good times" is well-known. Dr. Jones' investigations led him to say on this point: "Their loud voices coupled with their highly emotional temperament gives ample ground for much simultaneity of action. Their emotions are too keen and too much awake to be limited to a family. Inevitably they act together." The Italian fraternal and benefit societies numbering hundreds show that any charge of disorganization or lack of cooperation must be untrue.

Italians are overflowing with sympathy. They are quick to co-operate in helpful movements. They have a strong social instinct and unconsciously devote themselves to the support of the socially good, and to the condemnation of the bad. In order to further the common good they are willing to lay aside their own interests.

It is not surprising to find that due to the social and friendly nature of the Italian-speaking American, his activities take a concerted volition of yet wider extent called forth by a sensational event or misfortune. It is the testimony of ambulance surgeons that they can scarcely reach their patients in an Italian district because the neighbors have gathered about to offer aid and sympathy.

Social workers who have spent considerable years in the slums of the immigrant and who are exceptionally qualified to speak of conditions pertaining to the Italian home, bring to the fore his cooperative qualities. Miss Claghorn thinks that it is his ability to get along with others that makes the Italian "more steady, sober, provident and generally more reliable than his Irish prede-

cessors."* His is a spirit of friendly intercourse and of help given gladly. He is of a cheery and pleasant disposition, and always of an optimsitic turn of mind.

How well the offspring of this race are adapting themselves to our American conditions is shown by the ready way and free and easy access they have into all strictly American enterprises. Even if some of them are willing to work at a lower standard of living, their keen susceptibilities, their intellectual avidity and their almost universal commendable desire to co-operate and improve conditions impels these Americans to raise their standard to the level of their new surroundings and generally level with those with whom they are co-operating once the American point of view is gained.

A concrete instance refuting this charge of a "lack of cooperation and organizability" is shown in the illustration offered by Dr. Jones of the Italian lease-holders and store keepers. They may have scraped together $50 or $100 to begin with, but this sum is so large to them that they are not willing to run risks with it. In undertaking to sublet a house they have great confidence in the honesty of their people for each other. This is true of Italian store-keepers also. They venture into business when they perceive they can count on the co-operation of their own people. If the Italian is noted for anything it is his social and co-operative qualities, for they have flowing within their veins the blood of a "social" people.

One must not mistake in believing that because Italian colonies are pointed out as the classic instance in showing what inorganizable material the Southeastern European immigrants are, that the Italian nature is one that does not lend itself to team-work. To a keen observer it would appear that this apparent disorganization is but a passing feature of a period of upheaval and adjustment. With respect to the past certainly the evidence is all against this conclusion. Robert A. Woods, who has spent a life time among the Italian element of Boston in the North End says:

"Three brilliant races are bringing forth a new brood.

* "The Tenement House Problem," p. 86.

The Irish for the first time are having a just opportunity to work out their destiny. The Jewish race has an immemorial record as a prolific mother of genius. The Italian strain has historically outstripped all others twice — once politically, and once intellectually — the dominating power of the world."*

With regard to the present their position in South America,** where conditions are more closely allied to what they left, shows their initiative. "The Italians have a monopoly of the corn farms, wine and wheat. These uneducated, poverty-stricken Italian peasants have built up a mighty work in a few years. An Italian has been President of a Republic; the present Ministers of Education and of War are Italians."† Every one is familiar with the initiative and industry displayed by the Italians on the abandoned farms of New England.

TESTIMONY OF "POLITICAL LEADERS" REGARDING THEIR PLACE IN OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—It was Huxley who said that "the Italian brain was the finest textured in Europe." Yet whether the charges against the mental calibre of the Italian-speaking people are imaginary instead of real can be readily seen in the statement of Dr. Richmond Mayo-Smith formerly of Columbia, who says of them:

"Ignorant, criminal, vicious, eating food that we would not give to dogs, their very stolidity and patience under such conditions show that they lack the faintest appreciation of what civilization means."‡

Or compare also the statement of the economist Gen. Francis A. Walker:

"These immigrants are beaten men from beaten races representing the worst failures in the struggle for existence. . . . Europe is allowing its slums and its most

* Woods, R. A. "Americans in Process," p. 374.

** The best description of socio-economic conditions among Italians in South America that has yet appeared is to be found in Prof. Robert F. Foerster's recent book "The Italian Emigration of our Times."

† Bolton, King. "Italy To-day."

‡ Mayo-Smith, Richmond. "Emigration and Immigration," p. 133.

stagnant reservoirs of degraded peasantry to be drained off upon our soil."

It is such charges as these that make for a good deal of the misunderstanding and even prejudice that attaches to the descendants of the more recent immigrant stocks. Happily with time, these Americans are securing the opportunity to demonstrate how unfounded are such charges levelled against the Italian mind. Intellectual power is not absolutely but only relatively measurable yet even then the distinction is psychological not racial. Dr. Jacobs says:

"The distinction seems to be more a matter of temperament and is much more modifiable by education and environment than by purely racial characteristics."*

How well these Americans are adapting themselves to our American democracy is seen by the way they are universally received in the different parts of this country. New York has more citizens of Italian blood than any other State in the Union and in each colony the prevalent opinion is that they are a distinct asset. Lord quotes a statement of Mayor Mulvhill of Bridgeport who, replying to the question "What does the Italian-speaking citizen bring to us?" said:

"The Italians are a religious and law-abiding people and will compare favorably with an equal portion of American citizenry, whether native or adopted."**

At the beginning it is true that fights, quarrels, stabbings, etc., were frequent among the Italians, but this condition obtained for the immigrant and not for his offspring. The most eloquent picture recently drawn of this contrast is that of Jacob Riis, viz:

"Mulberry Bend was the worst pig sty of all. I do not believe that there was a week in all the twenty years I had to do with the den as a police reporter in which I was not called to record there a stabbing or shooting affair or some other act of violence."

To-day Mulberry Bend Park populated by the offspring of this previous criminal class presents in no way any

* Journal of Anthropological Institute 1895.

** Lord, Trenor and Barrows — "The Italian in America," p. 82 ff.

great and marked differences from similar conditions in other tenement districts. As a matter of fact the writer who has spent five years as a social worker in this very district believes that there are worse sections occupied by other nationalities. As the Chief Clerk in a city of 25,000 Italian-speaking citizens said:

"There is no doubt that at the present time the standard of Italian citizenship is of a higher grade than ever before, and what is true in this city is true for them throughout the country at large. To-day we find the Italians taking a prominent part in all the different vocations of life, in the professions as well as in business."

Others in a position to view the relationship of this type to our whole population point out the essential harmony of interests that exists between these peoples and others. Mayor Eisenmenger of Schenectady which has a dense Italian-speaking population believes that:

"They are not disposed to jar with the other nationalities and the Italian is rarely the aggressor in any such dispute. They appear to be uniformly anxious to urge the education of their children and one can't question their professional assimilation."

Mayor Allen C. Forbes of Syracuse considers them:

"To be exceptionally reliable and persistent in their work when they are given employment and that they constitute an essential part of the working community."

There is no question among thinking men that like other Americans of other descents the Italian-speaking American has a contribution to make to American democracy. How effective they will be depends in a great measure upon the way they are received in our midst. Far from being mental degenerates and deficient in qualities of leadership and initiative, the opposite is distinctly true. William Dean Howells always wondered that "They do not still rule the world when I see how intellectually fit they are to do it far beyond any other race. Individually they seem still equipped for their former ancient primacy." This may be and perhaps is overdrawn, but, nevertheless, in the Italian character there are as in all high strung natures the most surprising contradictions. "In private life there is no more dramatic

nation than the Italian; in public life there are no more ardent politicians than the Italians and their wonderful intelligence, dash and courage seem to promise national and concerted action on a grand scale. There is no reason to despair of Italy. Her nation as individuals is in many ways the most gifted in Europe."* An unbiased glance over what the actual accomplishments of this type have been will serve to effectively dismiss the charge that they would not, if allowed the normal amount or degree of opportunity and training, evidence reaction of a mental standard commensurate with that of other stocks.

THEORETIC FINDINGS OF GENETIC PSYCHOLOGISTS—The marked change in the vocations of the younger generation as compared to the one gone before reflects differences that are due to different environment, changed economic conditions and the higher American standard of living — rather than that any marked change in the racial psychology of the two groups. If we can establish this identity of racial characteristics with respect to the individuals, not only representing the younger generations of Americans of Italian extraction, but with respect to the germinal mental potentialities of all peoples, it would do much towards proving how unfounded are many of the charges brought forth against this particular type. If to these theoretical findings of the scholars of the world are added the practical observations and personal testimony of social economists and others who have spent a lifetime in studying this type, all refuting the specific charges that have so frequently been levelled against them, it may be logically assumed that in keeping with such findings the American of Italian extraction is in no way different from many of the other stocks in America. What may exist is not so much a psychical as a sociological difference which is determined by the wide divergence from the normal socio-economic scale representative of the typical Italian family. This is true because the germinal potentialities of all peoples of a superior culture are relatively uniform and where any mental and material disparity exists, one

* Emil Reich — Foundations of Modern Europe, p. 174.

is more apt to find the perverting factor not in the racial psychology involved but in the form of social organization that obtains.

What has often set people awry in their conception of race differences has been the failure to distinguish properly between inferior and superior races, and inferior and superior cultures. A superior people like the Chinese, for instance, may be living on a low level of culture, and their product if judged by a superficial observer, would make one believe the Chinese belong to an inferior stock. In like manner many of the alarmists in America, when immigration was at its highest several years ago, fearing that America was being overrun by a horde of inferior peoples, as the Southern Europeans were mistakenly supposed to be, expressed great fears for the older standard of living when the ensuing inevitable social and ethnic contacts occurred. An instance of this character is afforded in the quotation taken from the introduction to Madison Grant's book, "The Passing of a Great Race," and written by Henry Fairfield Osborn:

"If I were asked: What is the greatest danger that threatens the American public today? I should certainly reply: The gradual dying out among our people of those hereditary traits through which the principles of our religious, political, and social foundations were laid down and their insidious replacement by traits of a less noble character."

Racial backwardness is not racial inferiority.* Racial backwardness most always can be explained by oppression and lack of opportunity. This is so, at any rate, with the stocks that make up our "newer immigration";

* A word of caution that is not amiss is the following: exact measurement of race differences do not exist. As yet we cannot measure shades of emotion, depths of feeling, intensities of passion, strengths of instincts, etc. Perhaps we never shall. That sociologist is brave who would dare set up a standard for population increase or a law regarding the distribution of the social income for instance. As Boodin so well puts it, "in the study of social variables certain cautions are perhaps necessary — social facts are seldom the result of one set of determinants, generally they are the result of a multiplicity of causes."

unquestionably this is so with the Italian. John Dewey has effectively pointed out how futile it is to depend upon racial psychology for any explanation of cultural differences. He scouts the common notions that because the savage has no cultivated plants, no system of appliances for tending and regulating plants and animals, does not anticipate the future by drying meat, has a miserable hut for his habitation, with no tools or equipment except what is actually in use, catches beasts, birds and fish with his hands — as constituting legitimate grounds for describing the "savage" mind in terms of "lack," "absence" and "incapacity." Dewey shows that all of these incapacities are part of a very positive psychosis which taken in itself and not merely measured against something else, requires and exhibits highly specialized skill. The savage's repugnance to what we term a higher plane of life is not due to stupidity or dullness or apathy, or to any other merely negative quality. His aversion is due to the fact that in a new occupation he does not have so clear or intense a sphere for the display of intellectual and practical skill.*

The veteran psychologist, Dr. James Rowland Angeli attacks the problem squarely in this fashion:

"We distinguish in our common thought and language between the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon mind. No doubt it would be a difficult task to determine just wherein consist the differences that underlie these popularly recognized distinctions."

"We are accustomed to look upon these divergent traits as in some measure due to the exigencies of climate and geographical habitat. That such influences have affected physical type not only as regards stature and color of skin but also as regards many other details of bodily structure is ordinarily accepted as an obvious fact."

"It is difficult to say wherein the mind of the young German differs from that of the young Frenchman and both from that of the young American; and yet somewhere in their attitude toward social usage, in their con-

* Dewey, John — "Interpretation of Savage Mind" Psychological Review

ception of government, in their conception of good taste, they may be indefinitely far apart. How far these divergencies are matters of education, and how far they are innate is very difficult to determine. A man is the child of his time and race as truly as of his parents."*

Such representative views as these make out a case pointing not to the germinal defections of any one race but to the way widely different opportunities can serve to affect the civilizatory status attained by any one race of individuals.

ANTHROPOLOGISTS—Likewise the anthropologists bear witness to this truth. The most uncompromising exponent of the "germinal equality" theory of race powers and the "maximum efficacy of environment" is Franz Boaz, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University. Stated in a few words his theory is that historical events appear to have been much more potent in leading races to civilization than their faculty, and it follows that the achievements of races do not warrant us in assuming that one race is more gifted than the other.** He then goes on to sho whow important a part environment plays on the development of races. In 1909, as the Anthropologist for the Immigration Commission charged with the investigation of bodily changes among descendants of immigrants, he found after measuring thousands of head forms that even in so short a period as one generation the long-headed Sicilian became round-headed in New York City while the round-headed Hebrew became longheaded. While as he believed the approach to a uniform general type could not be established, nevertheless the changes were significant of the tremendous potency of the environment on the physical body. Now if so relatively immutable a thing as the human skull can be so radically transformed in the short period of time between the arrival of the immigrant and the birth of his children — how much more of a change must the newer environment effect upon the more plastic and formative parts of the human anatomy such as the

* Angell, Jas. B. — Chapters in Modern Psychology, p. 231 passim.

** Boaz — "Mind of Primitive Man" p. 17.

brain? Such at least were the inferences drawn from the investigation; but as Boaz himself stated:

"Italian immigration was so recent that individuals who were born many years after the arrival of their parents in America are very few in number and no individuals of the second generation have been observed. For this reason it is hardly possible to decide whether the cephalic index continues with the length of time elapsed between the immigration of the parent and the birth of the child."

Nevertheless, he concludes that

"The fundamental traits of mind which are closely correlated with the physical condition of the body and whose development continues very many years after physical growth has ceased, are the more subject to far-reaching changes."*

Further anthropological evidence is furnished by Prof. Ellsworth Faris of the University of Iowa. His investigations with tribes of primitive peoples lead him to the conclusion that

"Instead of the concept of different stages or degrees of mentality we find it easier to think of the human mind as being in its capacity about the same everywhere, the difference in culture to be explained in terms of the physical geography or the stimuli from other groups or the unaccountable occurrences of great men."**

SOCIOLOGISTS—The best quotation possible from the many sociologists who have frequently declared for the great place that environment and forms of social organization play in determining a people's cultural place is that by Geo. E. Howard in his recent presidential address before the American Sociological Society. He believes that

"A fruitful cause of war is the false idea of race values. Every race deems itself superior and every race is mistaken. Modern science repudiates the dogma of naturally superior races. It refuses to accept the color of the

* Boaz — "Mind of Primitive Man" p. 40.

** Faris, E. — "Mental Capacity of Savages" — Amerian Journal of Sociology, March 1918, pp. 603-619.

skin, the color of the hair, the slant of the eye, or the shape of the shin bone as a safe index. It is safe to say that among scholars competent to render an authoritative judgment the ancient doctrine that by nature some races are superior and others inferior has been rejected. Every argument advanced in its support has been tested and found wanting. Every year brings stronger support for the new doctrine of the potential equality of all races. Peoples differ in their planes of cultural development not in their inherent capacity for development. Races are low or high according to their rung on the ladder not according to their ability to climb. Under the eye of the expert the existing differences in mental and moral status between brown and yellow, black and white, oriental and occidental appears as resultants of variations in environment, institutions, experiences and opportunity."†

Dr. Howard has with him many of the most prominent thinkers not only in America but on the Continent favoring this view. Even the latest accepted treatise in sociological theory accepts this viewpoint, viz:

"The stifling conditions of our society may bring it to pass that large numbers are living below the social standards from reasons quite apart from natural capacity. This is evidently the case with immigrants coming from countries of lower standards and often undergoing here exceptional economic and moral pressure."*

Dr. A. J. Todd in his new book "Theories of Social Progress says:

"Race is psychological. Is there such a thing as "national mind" or "race psychology" unique and distinct? Those who claim there is, range in the intensity of their conviction all the way from belief in a literal social brain to mere predication of certain easily recognizable group qualities. To historical contingency or environmental agencies in the largest sense and not to innate faculty, we

† Ideals as a Factor in the Future Control of International Society, Presidential Address of George E. Howard, Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. 12, Social Control.

* Cooley, Chas. H. — "Social Progress," p. 232.

must turn for the real causative factor in racial differences and variations in culture. Owing to the internationalizing of human activities the concept of race is of diminishing importance."

"If we are ready to grant as did the First Universal Races Congress in 1911 that environmental changes are the predominant forces in modifying group character the uncertainty about the future of inferior races is cleaned up. It becomes possible to forecast the progressive development of all primitive people if only the environment can be appropriately modified."*

CONCLUSION—Professor Ross says in accounting for disparities between peoples, there are two opposite errors into which one may fall — one the "equality" fallacy as is set forth by the anthropological school, and the counter fallacy grown up since Darwin and represented best by Chamberlain in Germany and Grant in this country which exaggerates the race factor and which regards the actual and existing differences between men as hereditary and fixed.

There is a golden mean between these two extreme positions.** Applying this theory to the type here under investigation, we may safely say that while there perforce must be — considering the volume of immigrants — a certain modicum of unassimilable Italians who persist in maintaining their low standards of living in such extreme fashion as to imperil the vigor of the American nation, still the number falling within this class is so small as to be inconsequential and the fears that have been expressed on this score have been more imaginary

* Proceedings of First Universal Races Congress, 1911. (Quoted from Todd's, Theories of Social Progress, p. 284.)

** This position is best expressed by Bristol in his very able work, Social Adaptation, where he says, "evidence concerning the difference in social instincts, keenness of sense perception and intellectual and emotional qualities. . . is so conflicting as to counsel moderation of statement rather than dogmatization. . . . Differences in individuals are unquestioned but when the group is made the sociological unit the standard of ability no longer is individual, but social, and we have no sure word concerning the native ability of the average in any primitive groups now extant or that ever existed." p. 315.

than real. On the other hand it must be said that these people have been condemned by such writers as have been quoted in a spirit that to begin with was un-American before such individuals had an opportunity to demonstrate whether they would synthetize or not.

CHAPTER XXIII

A SOCIO-ETHNIC PROBLEM

THE PROBLEM STATED—SYNTHETIZATION

The task of democracy from the socio-ethnic standpoint is primarily synthetization rather than assimilation. These two latter ideas are different. Assimilation is the process of growing alike or a "process of growing resemblance"* and "is a mental and moral process."** It is different from amalgamation in the sociological sense which means "that homogeneity of blood determined by marriage—or the tendency to form about certain norms crystallized by marriage"† and which is essentially a part of the process of synthetization.

When we think of synthetization we think of something not synonymous with the former. Synthetization means fusing in such a way as to have the product different from any of its constituent parts—something higher and more refined, as in a chemical compound where as a result of the fusing of two constituents we get by the synthesis a compound that is neither one nor the other of the solubles that have entered into its composition, but something more complex and entirely new and different.

The ethnic task of our democracy has been eloquently described in a recent address by the present Secretary of the Interior.‡ In telling what Americanism was he went on to say "it is SYNTHETIZATION or the gathering together of different races, creeds, conditions, and aspirations and merging them into one." But this must not be thought of as patterning itself after a copy already existing. "There is no such thing as an American race excepting the Indian. WE ARE FASHIONING A NEW

* F. H. Giddings, "Inductive Sociology," p. 101.

** Lectures by F. H. Giddings at Columbia University, 1915

† Lectures by F. H. Giddings at Columbia University, 1915.

‡ Address by Franklin Lane before the Educational Conference at Washington (see National Geographic Magazine, April, 1918. What is it to be an American? page 348.)

PEOPLE." To realize this is important and the failure to do so is partially the reason why in defining Americanism we have in the past secured such variegated answers.

The difference in the two problems is subtle but fundamental in sociology. It has been the basis for all the talk going on to-day of the necessity for bringing our immigrant peoples up to the standard of the cultures prevalent among the older generations here. In effect this was to set up a type as already existing that represents the last word in things American. One got the impression that the ultimate American could be seen walking on the streets.

This attitude has had to make innumerable shifts. If one had lived in the days of the early Nationalists the discussion then centering on Americanism would have fastened upon a Franklin, a Jefferson or a Hamilton as the type of individual to which one had to conform; coming on down a little nearer if one were living in the days of the Transcendentalists, this prototype might have been Emerson or if it had been in the days of Hawthorne who wrote those charming stories of early settler life, he would have been declared the TRUE AMERICAN; or even in our own day there are many people who looked to Theodore Roosevelt as exemplifying all those qualities and virtues of patriotism, of citizenship, of self-sacrifice, of the public first, that set him up as the criterion.*

The mistake these people make is in hastily assuming that the American is a static or non-progressive type in whom we hope, at least, all the good points of our past immigrants are incorporated and retained, and all the bad points submerged or strained out. In fact they fail to grasp the fundamental sociological importance of the problem in showing that they believe our chief task is to assimilate—and not to synthesize.** In the main what

* See Newton D. Baker "National Ideals," The Survey, Nov. 25, 1916, p. 187-189.

** Compare such statements as "the native American has always found in the black man willing followers who ask only to obey the wishes of the master race without trying to inject

is attempted here is to sound a note of caution against being led into undue fears and un-American action by the alarmists who would have us restrict our annual population influx by carte-blanche legislation. As a matter of fact it is almost certain that the continental nations will of their own accord restrict the number of departures for the first few years at any rate following the termination of war and the signing of a peace treaty.

Only recently indeed do we see signs of a recognition of this "synthetizing" importance of our racial groups. The Carnegie Foundation has set itself the task of ascertaining what Americanism is. Among other things it is attempting a survey of Methods of Americanization. One of its important divisions is devoted to ascertaining what the influences are that the Italian strain exerts upon our American democracy. In its summary of the purposes of the survey the Carnegie Corporation explains:

"Americanization is the uniting of new with native-

into the body politic their own views whether racial, religious or social." Grant — The Passing of a Great Race, p. 78.

"The native American of the 19th century was rapidly becoming a distinct type." p. 79 Ibid.

"The new immigration contained an increasing number of the weak, broken, and mentally crippled of all the races drawn from the lowest stratum of the Mediterranean basin and the Balkans together with the hordes of the wretched submerged populations of the Polish ghettoes." p. 80 Ibid.

"It is no insult to the immigrant to say that he constitutes one of the perils of Americanism. How can it be otherwise? Assume that he is a law-abiding citizen, that he knows nothing of the conspiracies which have imperilled our safety, that he does not propose to cast his vote in the interests of the foreign power and that the field of hyphenated citizenship has no existence for him. For all these boons we are grateful. How far does he understand the responsibilities he assumes with the franchise? How far does he realize that he has become part of the state? How far can we depend upon him in our hour of need?" Agnes Repplier, Atlantic Monthly, March 1915—What is an American?

Miss Repplier's fears are answered by the fact that "There are 175,000 aliens fighting with the American forces abroad, 75,000 of whom as yet have not taken out their first papers. This leaves out of account the many thousands with the colors in this country." Americanization—The Evening Post—August 9, 1919.

born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation, to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all. Such Americanization should perpetuate no unchangeable political, domestic and economic regime delivered once for all to the fathers but a growing and inclusive National life, inclusive of the best wherever found. With all our rich heritages, Americanism will develop best thru a mutual giving and taking of contributions from both newer and older Americans in the interest of the common weal."*

This is one of the very few instances we have that frankly accepts the synthetizing aspects of our socio-ethnic life and does not subordinate it to the orthodox "assimilation" concept which would have it that the later comer has first of all to become Americanized, in the sense of being patterned after already existing types.

* Statement by Allan T. Burns, Director, New York Times, Sunday, February 2, 1919.

CHAPTER XXIV

DOES THIS TYPE OF AMERICAN CONTRIBUTE TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY?

Comparative observations allow one to conclude that there are many valuable traits and qualities being added to the store of assets that America has already gained thru her immigrants, and also by this newer acquisition of the Italian group.

This is readily discernible because in all the manifestations of both his vocational and his recreational life this American of Italian lineage is easily amalgamated. Not only in the "art sense" does he make a most valuable contribution because it is one of the qualities that we most conspicuously lack, but as Miss Brandt continues to say "grace, courtesy, ambition are characteristics of Italian children in America. The first two qualities are an inheritance that has come down to them thru three centuries; the third is developed or at least given a chance for expression by American conditions."*

He is not a "persona non grata." A review of his institutions shows that given proper social, educational and moral stimulation this American will respond in ways that show him to be constructively creative. We see in his schemes for betterment both with respect to his own type and his ideas concerning those outside this group that he is both fertile and facile in imitation. Undeniable evidences are numerous that he is intellectual and can become deliberative and rational. Given early in life a proper sense of direction and immunity from the vicious influences of the slums which cause him to evolve a bastard notion of personal liberty, we see that he does become a peaceful and law-abiding American.

Proof of all this is easily forthcoming when we find that the institutions of adult Italians offer no attraction to him and hold no place in his life. The Italian hos-

* Lillian Brandt — A Transplanted Birthright — Charities 1904, Vol. 12, p. 494.

pitals, Italian newspapers, banks, books, clubs are all shunned by the younger generation.

Nor does the younger generation retain the language, customs, ways of thinking, ways of doing of the adult immigrant. Frequently this line of cleavage between the two when drawn too sharp makes for much irritation and friction and consequently unhappiness. And in all this the youngster certainly is not to blame. His crime is that he has become Americanized too fast. He is responding almost completely to American institutions, good and bad alike.

Examining his voluntary institutions and his co-operative efforts, we see in them the complete saturation of the mode of living and ways of thinking of the American of Italian extraction with Americanism and American culture.

Where no concrete evidence exists covering specific fields of organization and initiative that are grounded in race, as likely as not such a lack is due to the fact that the proficient American of Italian extraction has entered so fully into the spirit of American life and custom that no evidence of this sort can exist. He has become completely absorbed. To recreate an organization for some specific purpose on the basis of a common Italian ancestry would be to resurrect anew the Italian individuality and a pseudo-Americanism would be the result. An absence of an organization need not betray a lack of co-operation and organized effort or lack of initiative; it may well be indicative of the fact that those Americans of Italian extraction that are proficient and capable are responding one hundred per cent to stimuli distinctively American and have been completely absorbed into American life.

The fact that so frequently we meet with the desire of such Americans of Italian extraction to change their names is an evidence of this subordination of things Italian and the elevation of Americanism to a primary place. Their general reticence in the acknowledgement of their "Italianity" affords added proof of this shifting value of ancestral traits and racial appendages.

A close observation of the personal habits of hundreds

of Americans of Italian extraction will serve to corroborate all of the above. Few of them read the Italian newspapers; no one puts money in the numerous Italian banking agencies scattered thruout the colony; they do not join the mutual benefit and fraternal orders of which among Italians an overwhelming superfluity always exists; their grasp of the Italian language itself is slender and not overstrong, in many cases almost nil; Italian customs, attendance on religious rites pertaining to festive occasions are absolutely ignored, etc., etc. Haynes has expressed himself on this aspect as follows:

"None brought this fact (the adoption of American ways) more strongly to my mind than the instances of the marriage spoken of in the description of an evening spent with the Italians. In their reasonable discussion of the useless cost of showy marriages, the changed attitude towards various kinds of work — and especially noticeable is their friendly attitude towards other races, and nationalities. It is impossible to discuss all the many little acts which clearly show the way these young Italians have taken up the manner of life here."*

With this unfortunately goes most of the sacred heritage of Italy that Italian immigrants have to offer. Profligate America has done little to conserve the heritage of the immigrants she has invited to her shores. This however we hope will soon be stopped. The Carnegie Foundation is taking steps to put clearly before the public eye the genuine danger and actual losses sustained by this too rapid absorption of first generation of Americans, and the consequent loss of the heritage of their ancestors.

The introduction of so large a mass of Italians will benefit America in many ways. Mingling with members of different races, each polishes the gold and refines the dross of the other. The natural quality of the stocks is raised and improved thereby, the biological product being revitalized and recreated. This is of inestimable importance.

Again the enhanced industrial development of the country, that inevitably follows from the introduction of

* Haynes, Bryce — "Some Italian Types of Mind," p. 81.

so valuable a "working" and "workable" unit is incalculable. Immeasurable again, is the effect on trade, commerce and business generally.

It is worth while then for America on account of the invaluable character of the raw human product involved, to take careful and complete steps requisite to its most economic preservation. At the same time this large Italian group must be given direction and afforded leadership if it is to be advantageously used. This is the note sounded by Douglas, who says

"In summarizing we shall state some of the general characteristics of the Italian as we have found him. Looseness of organization, general lack of leadership, and small continuity of effort and of determination are his worse traits. But he is sanguine in temperament, not easily discouraged, courteous and affable in disposition and generally moderate in all desires. He is plastic and acceptable and with proper training his worse faults could be overcome. His potentialities are large but will probably be dormant unless native Americans step into the breach that opportunity has opened."*

* Douglas, David W.—"The Influence of the Southern Italian on American Society," p. 41.

CHAPTER XXV

SYMPOSIUM ON WHAT THE AMERICAN OF ITALIAN EXTRACTION SPECIFICALLY CONTRIBUTES TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

WHAT DOES THE AMERICAN OF ITALIAN EXTRACTION GAIN THROUGH HIS CONTACT WITH OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY?—The writer decided to gather for himself concrete ideas regarding the position of the American of Italian extraction in our American life. Much that was written before was of a vague and general character. The symposium which follows contains the specific data in answer to a specific question from individuals who know this type of American. In this way it was thought that by gathering concrete facts rather than vague and general ideas, a truer conception of the position that these Americans hold may be placed before the entire American public. To this end 1000 of the accompanying questionnaire on the following page were mailed to individuals particularly fitted to judge.

It was decided to ask the American of Italian extraction not what he himself contributed, for manifestly personal bias could not be altogether eliminated—but on the contrary, to ascertain what he gained. As a result of this, we are apt to have a truer picture of what America is really doing, not only for these people but for all its first generation of Americans. Taking the facts pointing out his "gains" and placing alongside these the knowledge we have of what the American of Italian extraction contributes, we are able to see at a glance the two opposite aspects of the "give and take" relation going on in America with respect to Americans of Italian origin.

As manifestly the American of Italian extraction is the best judge of the gains that are effected, we can be assured that as a nation, America is doing all of her part and doing it well, for the statements gathered show numerous gains; and these are gains that run through the entire gamut of all possible channels of development.

80 Washington Place
New York City, New York

Dear Sir:

I am engaged in collecting data relative to the "Sociological Status of Americans of Italian extraction in New York City" which is to take printed form very soon.

I am interested in getting up a symposium of the facts concerning this type of American from people who know them. The idea of the symposium is to contrast the way different types of individuals look at the problem of the synthetization of America's composite racial stock—from the standpoint of one of these stocks i.e. the Italian.

For this purpose it will help materially if you will be kind enough to answer *only* the question checked in blue pencil below.

1.—What does the American of Italian extraction gain most thru his contact with our American democracy? (to be answered *only* by Americans of Italian extraction)

2.—What does the American of Italian extraction lose thru his contact with our American democracy? (American life, institutions, customs, etc.)
(to be answered *only* by Italians in New York City)

3.—What is the chief contribution that the American of Italian extraction makes to our American democracy? (to be answered *only* by Americans of other descents than Italian)

Note A.—Democracy in this study of which this symposium forms only a part is defined as "that form of social organization in which every man has a fair chance to develop himself and *knows* that he has that chance."

Note B.—If possible please confine your answer to one sentence and be *specific*.

Note C.—The answer can be written on the back of this sheet.

Note D.—If the identity of the contributor is not to be disclosed please indicate this in the reply.

Thanking you in advance for your co-operation, I am

Very truly yours,

JOHN H. MARIANO,
Assistant Director,
Community Service and Research,
Division of Public Affairs,
New York University.

The majority of the replies received agree in stating that the greatest gain to these people thru their contact with our institutions and other objective indices of American Democracy is not "economic" opportunity as some might suppose but political opportunity as evidenced thru greater personal freedom and liberty. Great difficulty however was experienced in knowing just what was the greatest gain in the mind of the individual contributor — there were so many. Some who have attempted to list the specific items are Rev. Antonio Mangano, author of "Sons of Italy" who realizing that justice cannot be done to the question in one brief statement sums up his views in the admirably full statement that

"American Democracy very radically changes the entire life and character of the children of Italian extraction reared in this country. Unconsciously these individuals are being moulded on American soil and in an American background. The whole process of their thinking, their way of looking at life is so different from that of their parent. Whether this modification on their life is favorable to American life depends upon the influence which enters into their moulding. Italian character is plastic and easily conforms to its surroundings. I mention a few things he gains:

1.—The spirit of fair play and justice.
2.—Straightforwardness and honest dealing.
3.—Open-mindedness — appreciation of truth.
4.—Trust and confidence in his fellow-man.
5.—The knowledge that work is honorable however humble.
6.—Interest in fellow-man in a large way.

Dr. Vincent Giliberti lists the following items:

1.—Enthusiasm to achieve great things.
2.—Independence of thought and action.
3.—Love of freedom (not license) and justice.
4.—Social consciousness developed to a high degree.
5.—The feeling of equality.
6.—Submission to the majesty of the law.

Dr. Antonio Pisani, former member of the Board of Education, which position gave him a unique opportunity

to observe the progress these Americans are making, says:—

1.—Education.

2.—Free speech.

3.—A higher standard of living.

This is identical with the belief of the Principal of the Italian School, Mrs. Louisa Deferrari Weygandt

1.—Educational advantages.

2.—Economic opportunity.

Paul F. Frabbito who has had a great deal of experience in instructing this type and himself is a graduate of an American university lists the following:

1.—New freedom of action and of thought.

2.—Liberty, Equality and Fraternity persistently applied.

3.—Widening of his socio-centric interests.

N.B.—Each enthusiast has his own hobby and would put his own pet interest first, i.e. philosophy, economics, sociology, social worker, etc., so it is difficult to settle the 'most' question.

The way the leaders of the growing "college" generation look at this question is typically represented by the views immediately following. Louise F. Bruno, former President of the Hunter College Circolo Italiano feels that

"The American of Italian extraction has gained two things thru contact with American Democracy: (1) he has learned to become progressive, (2) and to become democratic. He has lost all class prejudice so prevalent in parts of Europe and especially in Italy."

Vincent Anello, President of Il Circolo Italiano, Columbia University believes that

"What the American of Italian extraction gains most is the idea of being on an equal footing with his fellowman; but tho our form of social organization is one in which every man has a fair chance to develop himself, the average American of Italian extraction is hindered in his development because of economic conditions at home, the one above the average however developing himself unchecked and according to his ability; thus to the former the idea of democracy appears only as an

illusion while to the latter it appears and actually is a reality.

The President of the Barnard Circolo Italiano, Irma Liccione believes that

"Equal opportunity for everything possible only in a democracy is the gain."

A former President of the Columbia University Circolo, Wm. N. Barbarito, believes that these gains are

1.—Fear of Government is driven away and joy in participation of government is instilled.

2.—Education is brought to the doors of any and all who want it thru public schools, public libraries, public institutions, etc.

3.—Religion becomes a choice with the individual.

4.—Greater freedom of expression in the home not only in thought but in action.

The President of the Board of Education in San Francisco, A. A. D'Ancona thinks that,

"The most important thing gained is a gain that is common to people of all races — namely the recognition that people of different ancestry and of different creeds can live together amicably and in mutual respect."

Assemblyman Chas. Novello of New York City states that

"Whatever the individual does is recognized and American Democracy gives him a fair chance and reasonable opportunity."

To the President of the Italian Lawyers' Association, Gerard J. Cuoco, the chief gain is

"An awakening to the fact that people can govern themselves."

Four of the educators prominent in the life of the Italian colony look at this gain in the following way: Angelo Patri, Principal of public school number 45, Bronx, holds,

"That one begins to feel that he counts as an individual. American democracy brings him out of his reserve, his humility. America does for him what it does for all — brings about a respect for races, of people, especially an appreciation of common peoples. It gives him faith in himself and in his children."

To Principal Anthony J. Pugliese of public school number 21 on Mott and Elizabeth Streets, the chief gain is,

"A breadth of vision for the future."

Prof. Vittorio Racca says it means an appreciation

"Of a government of the people, for the people and by the people."

Dr. James P. Croce of the Fordham Medical College states this gain to be,

"A sense of true independence which is not construed as licentiousness."

Three well known doctors whose lives have been spent working among these peoples also replied affirmatively. Instance Dr. Savini, director of the Washington Square Hospital, calling the gain one of

"Self reliance and initiative."

Dr. Atonna President of the Italian Medical Society lists the gains as

"1.—Social development.
2.—Education.
3.—Economic.
4.—Political.
5.—Moral.

Dr. Tomasullo says the gain is that represented in

"Coming in contact with a *real* democracy."

General statements pointing to an all-around gain are those of Dr. A. Palmieri, of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

"A fuller consciousness of his social and industrial rights; a more active spirit of personal initiative, a deeper feeling of religious, political and social tolerance, the conscious or unconscious desire of contributing to the welfare and progress of mankind."

Roswell Arrighi, Superintendent of one of the largest Italian Sunday Schools of this city, the Broome Street Tabernacle feels:

"A strong and decided development of one's self based upon independence of thought and action. A growing self-respect and an increasing appreciation for the beneficent institutions made possible by our great democracy."

Frank P. Buonora, formerly chairman of the Italian section of the Brooklyn division of the government's "War Stamps Savings Sales" says the gain is

"Independence and self reliance; realization of the powers of the individual; the acquiring of a better standard of living; the loss of prejudice against any race and the development of a cosmopolitan character. The American of Italian extraction becomes interested and learns to develop and understand duty towards and love for American institutions and the laws of the country."

The question is bluntly answered by Rocco Fanelli who states that he is familiar with only one democracy and that that is the American democracy and to it he owes

"Everything I have in education, in economic advantages, and ideals."

Luigi Criscuolo, the financial writer for the Independent who has an exceptional grip on Italian affairs writes at length, viz:

"This will depend entirely upon the point of view. We have in the United States Italians of different social stations. Some are reduced men and women of gentle birth and good education who lacked opportunities in Italy, whose estates were mortgaged and who came here to earn enough money to pay their debts. Some are artisans or professional men who after coming here make a distinct success in life. Some are peasants who are more or less illiterate and who have no ideals or traditions to look back upon and therefore have the world before them. Let us assume that none of these classes know English.

"Those gentlemen of reduced circumstances will often do menial labor rather than engage in trade. Their executive ability, however, soon makes them stand above their fellow workers; as soon as they learn the language they show that they can be useful to their employers because of the natural respect they inspire in their fellow-workers who do not speak pure Italian. The result is that such men advance, and eventually become owners of establishments. Instead of returning to Italy to live on their lands, they become infused with the

American spirit of enterprise, they begin to love the ideals of a purely democratic country, and soon become American citizens. By hard work under adverse circumstances they acquire a competence and while they do not lose touch with their fatherland they become to all intents and purposes good citizens and take an intelligent interest in all political questions of the day, both local and national.

"There is very little comparison between the class just described and the professional man but a wider distance between them and the artisan class. The artisan may be a skilled mechanic or a barber. He is more apt to learn English in a shorter time than the professional man altho his English will be distinctly American, with an East Side twang if he be a New Yorker. His children are sent to American schools and become thorough Americans. While they learn more about Italy and its past glories at school than they learned at home, perhaps more than their parents ever knew, they regard that as incidental.

"In fact I have known children of artisans who almost regretted their Italian birth because of the ridicule put upon them by children of other parentage, and have claimed to be French or Spanish rather than Italian. However, as the children began to learn something about Italian history and as the lower class of Americans began to likewise appreciate Italy's place in world history, the ridicule towards Italians began to disappear. This is particularly so since the beginning of the war which has demonstrated that Italy can do wonders in the field and in industry as well as in art. His children soon become instilled with Americanism and soon win high honors in school and colleges and are ripe for public life.

"The children of the peasants have a hard lot. They are brought up in a life of squalor; their parents never knew what standards of cleanliness were; their poverty prevented them from having what we consider very commonplace comforts. Brought to the United States they are sent to school because it is compulsory and while usually they are left in school until they are 14 or 15

years of age, they impress the school teacher with their unusual brightness and willingness to learn. Teachers have told me that the brightest pupils they had were of Italian birth, particularly the children of day-laborers. This is accounted for by the fact that after a century of illiteracy the brain of the peasant child is ripe for absorption of knowledge. Hence, some of our brightest Italo-Americans come of blood which has been absolutely peasant for centuries. These boys and girls gain the most because from a life of squalor and poverty they raise themselves to relatively eminent positions. The public school connection and contact with American children make them imitate the manners and dress of these children and they bring into their own homes of squalor and poverty the customs and naturally clear ideas of the American children. Sometimes bad influences tend to make delinquents and as they grow older other influences make ward heelers and disreputable politicians out of them, but that is an exception.

"I have great hopes for the American of Italian birth and extraction. Those boys who follow the ideals of such men as Garibaldi, Mazzini, Washington, and Lincoln cannot go wrong. Those boys who disdain small ward politics and strive to get ahead by honesty and integrity have a great future. The Italian is naturally idealistic and patriotic. This is proven by the response of the young men and women to the appeals made in the Liberty Loan campaigns. AVANTI!"

The last to be quoted in this connection is a brief but pithy statement of the well-known lawyer Joseph P. Barbieri, who puts the "gain" to be a

"'Self-determination' or in other words the American of Italian extraction gains what everybody else gains, the knowledge that he has the opportunity to develop his latent ability; that it is up to him to make of himself all which he is capable and that our American democracy not only gives him the opportunity but actually lends him a hand."

Many others equally emphatic as these are omitted for lack of space.

WHAT DOES THE AMERICAN OF ITALIAN EX-

TRACTION LOSE THRU HIS CONTACT WITH AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—In answering question number 2 it was extremely difficult to get the high percentage of replies that obtained with the other two questions for various reasons. The chief reason perhaps was that of language. In a number of cases the recipient could not be sure that he had read aright the questionnaire and so, rather than to make a mistake, he failed to reply. On the other hand some ground undoubtedly existed for the fact that fewer could express on "paper" a "loss" that might be quite inexpressible or even tangible but that nevertheless was real. Possibly again, misunderstandings that might arise thru stating a negative reply may have deterred a few.

The attitudes taken by contributors towards this question fall sharply along two main lines — one side holding that the "losses" far outstrip anything that is gained; the other the diametrically opposite position and believing that the "losses" are nil. Together with these two extremes are views representing all possible shadings in between.

The one reply that I have called "neutral" and which was the only one of its kind received in answer to this question is that of Dr. Eduardo San Giovanni who had a long and intensive training in Italy and secured his doctorate at the University of Naples. Professor San Giovanni held that

"Gains and losses are individual phenomena and if not individual at least are circumscribed by regional and social factors. "Gains" or "losses" on the part of a Calabrian excavator cannot have anything in common with the budget of a Venetian musician who has likewise been absorbed by the American stream."

This view however can largely be discounted as it is beside the point. What we are observing here is neither a Calabrian excavator nor a Venetian musician but an "American of Italian extraction" who has either been born here or who has come here when very young. As such it deliberately excludes the adult Italian immigrant, whether musician or excavator, who is as a rule so thoroly ingrained with the culture of the homeland that

he is neither himself affected in any great way by his contacts with our institutions nor contributes creatively to our American democracy.

At once representative of the view mentioned earlier, dealing fully and very intelligently indeed with the question of the "losses" sustained is the contribution in Italian by the Rev. Rafaele Fenili, a product of a double civilization, a graduate of St. Anthony's College in Rome and of Columbia University and at present an ordained minister of the Methodist Church, viz:

"To your question—What does the American of Italian extraction lose thru his contact with our American democracy — I answer

He loses:

1.—In the formation of character. Drawing from two sources of a different nature, that is, the traditions and the education of his family and the American schooling and ways of living, his personality does not assert itself very strongly and forcefully. Receiving at once a heterogeneous and homogeneous element he is neither simply Italian nor purely American.

2.—In family ties. The influence of the American schools can be seen on the mind of the child in the emphasis that is placed on the American language, customs, and ways of living. It is indeed common to hear that children are ashamed of their parents, often designating them as "dagoes," ignorant and old-fashioned people. Even the respect that should exist in the relation of son to father is very often loose if not lost altogether.

3.—In sentiments. The "do ut des" is the fundamental law of his life; and the supreme aspiration of the neo-American is only "sacra auri fames." Those feelings of sympathy, of altruism that so distinguish Italians are simply in the stage of larvae in the neo-American.

4.—In religion. If the Roman Catholic Church is considered the only true religion, he lives in an atmosphere of Catholicism, Protestantism and Hebrewism; in the schools and in the factories the contact with these two last is inevitable, therefore, he forms a religion, "sui generis," and of Catholicism he retains only the superstitions.

5.—In morals. American freedom which in many individuals degenerates into license or "libertinage"; the corruption to be found in large cities; indecent moving pictures and the ease with which he finds gay company among the weaker sex naturally do not form in the neo-American qualities of a saint.

It goes without saying that these losses are more or less accentuated in neo-Americans according to circumstances and to the opportunities of which they have made use."

Along the same line is the contribution of another Protestant clergyman, the Rev. F. J. Panetta, viz:

"The matter is too complex to be answered in one sentence but the chief "losses" to be regretted are

1.—That they do not come into contact with real Americans by whom they have been ostracized for well known reasons.

2.—They lose almost entirely the idealism which is one of the most beautiful characteristics of the Latin race, thinking of nothing else but the almighty dollar.

3.—It is to be regretted also that a gulf exists to separate the children from the parents due chiefly to our present system of education and the opposition as imparted to the children which some stupid teachers have for anything that sounds Italian."

The very well-known Doctor Rocco Brindisi of Boston says:

"The American of Italian extraction by his contact with American democracy is partly deprived of his hereditary esthetic sense and love of home life. He besides becomes somewhat unmannerly and too often undisciplined towards his parents."

The Provincial of the Salesian Order, Rev. E. Coppo believes that

"The loss is that of love and reverence for family and parent."

Professor Mantellini of 68 West 68th Street says:

"My observations lead me to know that the American of Italian extraction loses the love for the country of his ancestors, the poetical and idealistic sentiments characteristic of the Italian people and the great and real

appreciation of a race that has had such a glorious past as the Italians."

Dr. Francesco Ettari of City College feels that it is this same loss, namely

"Sense of respect."

Rev. C. R. Simboli, a graduate of Columbia University, says

"That in the commingling of the Italian with American democracy the Italian in the ceaseless struggle for economic improvement gradually loses his distinctive artistic sense, spontaneity and plasticity as well as that warmth of social intercourse inherent in the Latin race."

Joseph Francolini, president of the Italian Savings Bank, the largest bank of its kind among Italians of this city, also believes in widespread losses and lists them in the following order

"1.—Morality.
2.—Respect.
3.—Supervision by the parent.
4.—Respect for authority.
5.—The habit of thrift."

Finally a clear exposition is that of R. Fanciulli, editor of the International Bureau of the New York Evening Post, viz:

"The most conspicuous loss to the American of Italian extraction would seem to be that of prestige — a thing seldom accorded him in any greater measure than the prestige commanded by Italians as a class.

"The cause for this may be partly attributed to a characteristic modesty, peculiarly Italian which, delightful as it may be to those who understand it, is nevertheless not generally understood in America and has unquestionably been a hindrance to the fuller assimilation of Italians in the more influential circles of political and commercial life — the plane accorded them not being equal to that accorded those of Irish, Jewish and previously German extraction."

Jumping to the other extreme or to the position taken by those who feel that the "losses" are nil, we have the attitude taken by F. Mancini, editor of Il Resveglio of Denver, Colorado, who writes in Italian in full:

"He loses that childishness of character which renders him a slave in a monarchy. He forgets etiquette which ties every Italian to his superior in authority either in business or in official life or by virtue of birth differences and he becomes accustomed to manners completely liberal which in daily life unite every American citizen from the President down.

"Speaking of the majority of the Italian immigrants to the United States, composed of what are known as the simple "contadini" from the mountains of the Alps or those of the Appennines, and the simple workmen in various establishments and factories and offices, what happens is that they, upon coming in contact with the American people, lose that ignorance in which they were surrounded upon birth — they slowly conform to our institutions. They remain free and honest and learn step by step the new ways of American life. So that taking to our commercial and industrial life they acquire stronger convictions, they forget prejudices and probably free themselves from a certain character of religious fanaticism and domination which was ingrafted upon them at birth and not a few become the highest type of American citizen. This result or transformation could not have been possible in their native land."

Of a like tenor is the statement of Dr. DeLiguori of Yonkers:

"A man of education loses nothing, he can lose only the stupid habit of trusting a monarchy and monarchs, the only and real obstacles to the natural progress of civilized society. One who is ignorant may be led to believe that liberty is license and in this way lose a right understanding of the liberty that is his for the first time in this country."

Also Professor Panarone of City College:

"The American of Italian extraction may sometime in working-class families lose that respect and submission to parental authority characteristic of Italian family life. The change is due to the greater educational progress of the children."

To Professor Sergio of the Sergio School of Languages it is a question whether the change is a loss. Anyway there is gone

"That inclination to dream which smothers in almost every Italian heart making him more practical and therefore more apt to succeed in the modern social strife."

Cavalier Benefico believes

"That the American of Italian extraction has absolutely nothing to lose because there is a gradual mingling of the influences of two civilizations in his life and he profits from them both."

The editor of the "Gazetta del Massachusetts" J. V. Donnaruma says

"The American of Italian extraction when in contact with American democracy gradually loses that spirit which all over Europe divides the nations into different and unequal social classes. Our American democracy is one social class."

Pasquale Galassi, member of the Massachusetts Bureau of Immigration has studied this question very carefully for a number of years and says:

"Because Italy is the cradle of 'Freedom' and the 'Rights of Man,' the Italian is essentially a democratic individual.

"Because the United States has been founded on the highest ideals of Freedom and Democracy, the American is the best example of these ideals.

"The American citizen of Italian extraction, therefore, loses nothing of the essentials of democratic citizenry when coming in contact with American ideals, customs, and institutions.

"Perhaps the one thing he gets rid of very quickly and that to his great advantage, is the reticence to take part in public affairs which reticence is due to the effect of centuries of foreign domination and oppression of the larger part of Italy previous to 1870."

As a fitting conclusion to this section we may quote the contribution of Dr. Felice Ferrero, brother of the gifted historian and formerly Director of the Italian Bureau of Information. Dr. Ferrero is one of the best equipped men in the Italian-speaking colony to speak upon this subject because of his having an exceptional grip on both cultures. He says:

"Whether a person of Italian extraction loses or gains

thru his contact with American democracy depends mostly upon the spirit with which he comes to this country and also, although much less, on circumstances.

"When I left Italy to settle here, I came with an entirely open mind and with no prejudices of any kind, although I was inclined to admire greatly all that was Anglo-Saxon or more or less directly connected with Anglo-Saxon civilization. Consequently I took up with enthusiasm whatever appeared to me in American life as being better than in Italian life, still retaining what I considered most valuable from my early education, and now I find that, thanks to the contact with the American world, my personality, if I may say so without offending modesty, is certainly more complete than it would have been otherwise; my understanding of the world is broader and my enjoyment of life more thorough.

"In this estimate of the things of America, do not enter considerations of success or lack of success in the material pursuits of everyday life which I think ought to have nothing to do with your question."

WHAT THE AMERICAN OF ITALIAN EXTRACTION CONTRIBUTES TO OUR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—Of course it is impossible to publish the views of all the contributors to the symposium. In this third section in answer to the question "What does the American of Italian extraction contribute to American Democracy" we have a varied view of the way this new infusion of Italian blood is moulding or at least influencing American life. Most of the contributors agree that this influence is diverse in character. Nevertheless it is generally held that such contributions fall along certain well defined channels. The views which we print in full here are of the most importance. Only a few statements can be included and only such as are indicative of a fairly general trend of opinion.

The vast majority of replies stated that some valuable contribution was being added by the introduction of these people into our midst. The reply of Maryal Knox, headworker of the "Little Italy House" of Brooklyn was alone in stating that

"There have been too few Americans of Italian ex-

traction and they have been here too short a time to have had any influence upon American Democracy."

Dr. Robert H. Lowie, of the American Museum of National History, has no doubt

"That Americans of Italian extraction are able to make a notable contribution to our American Democracy but regret my little knowledge and experience which prevents my making a more specific reply."

Prof. David Snedden, of Columbia University, gave almost the same identical answer:

"Feeling sure that strong healthy Italians of good character make just as good citizens as strong and healthy immigrants from other countries. It may be that Italians also make a *particular* contribution but this is a point about which I am not certain at the present time."

These were the only two answers received in which the contributor stated that while they felt that something was being contributed they were unable to localize the contribution about anv one specific thing.

In addition, three replies were received which I have called "negative reactions" i. e., contributions to the effect that instead of this type of American making a contribution that is a "positive" gain, the chief item that the questionnaire called to the mind of the person replying was something "negative" viz,—the view of George Trumbull Ladd of Yale University is

"The industrious and valuable class of Italians who have settled in Connecticut are making (1) excellent market gardeners and small farmers, (2) and stone cutters and stone masons. The lower order are acting as navvies on the railroads and public streets. A few are distinguishing themselves in professions but only a few and some are in the smaller local bands and orchestras. I regret to say that crimes of violence are more numerous than among other classes of citizens,—usually arising in quarrels over women and gambling debts."

Mr. C. M. Knight, Secretary of the Young Men's Institute branch of the Y. M. C. A. which has a membership of over fifty per cent of Americans of Italian extraction says,

"I have only recently come to New York City and have no very firm conviction regarding the Italian. To me the one characteristic that stands out is that of childishness. They seem to lack in judgment, perseverance, and unselfishness, therefore, it occurs to me that any contribution which they might make to our democracy would be in the lower strata. They are laborers and some are breaking into business and still fewer in the professions.

"The above is brutally frank but they are simply some untested and preliminary ideas which have forced themselves upon me."

The third and last reply of a similar strain is that from Mgr. Chidwick, formerly Chaplain of the sunken battleship Maine and now head of St. Joseph's Seminary in Yonkers:

"I must say that I have not had sufficient experience to answer with authority. There are qualities we hope to see infused into our American character by the Italian, his artistic temperament, his affectionate nature, his seriousness and industry are known. I must confess that I would prefer to see him with a lesser desire for money and destruction but this *quality* well regulated brings about thrift and power which will be well used."

All other correspondents believe that the American of Italian extraction makes some or many valuable contributions. One of the most important contributions that they have already made is that of labor.

Alison Dodd, the capitalist, puts it briefly thus:

"Physical strength."

Walter T. Diack of the International Y. M. C. A. Committee makes it out to be,

"Labor and Music."

The Superintendent of the Labor Bureau, William H. Meara, believes labor to be his most important contribution, saying

"We find that they rapidly become good citizens and that labor is their best hold on the consideration of the American public. All Italians display a marked desire to become American citizens. Our public schools take good care of their children."

William Roscoe Thayer of Cambridge, Mass., states that he is rather at a loss how to answer because his relations with Italians of all sorts has been uniformly pleasant,

"The chief contribution by Italians in the United States has been, I think, a "manovrali." Our subways, or travels, our roads, our great expansion in concrete works, have been largely due to them. They are indefatigible, patient and amenable laborers. I regret that even now they are in some places exploited by avaricious contractors and *padroni.* My advice to them always is to learn English and to become real Americans as quickly as possible, for in no other way can they protect themselves from exploitation. Moreover it will be henceforth indispensable that foreigners who come to this country to live shall be Americanized. A double allegiance cannot be tolerated.

"From 1840 to 1870 the foreign Italians who came over were more or less educated and they brought us music, but in this generation, I think that the laborers are Italy's chief representatives in her immigrants to us. We owe them much."

Norman Hapgood says

"Industry so far; inspiration I hope hereafter."

Rev. M. Angelo Dougherty of Cambridge, Vice Chancellor of the Catholic University of America puts it this way:

"They have given us much brawn taking the place of the immigrant of years ago and they have also contributed a good deal to art — much to plastic art."

Lawson H. Brown, formerly Secretary of the East Harlem Y. M. C. A. believes this contribution to be

"Hard Labor."

Not a few believe that rather than "labor" the chief characteristic of this type is the contribution they have to make towards a lightsomeness of character, of joy in living and an optimistic way of looking at life. Representative statements are those of M. P. Adams, Superintendent of the Mooseheart National Vocational Institute who sums this all up in the one word,

"Buoyancy."

Likewise Lawson Purdy, the tax expert of New York City who calls it,

"Cheerfulness."

Prof. C. H. Grandgent of Harvard makes it out to be a lesson to older Americans for them

"To appreciate the pleasure that everyday life affords."

B. M. Anderson, Jr., of Harvard University says,

"He brings a joyous attitude towards life, a spontaneity in living, which is a genial corrective of the rigors of the Puritan conscience constituted by New England."

A figure exceptionally prominent in the civic life of New York but whose identity may not be disclosed says,

"I incline to think that the chief contribution of the American of Italian extraction makes to American democracy is the "smiling face" — that is — Cheerfulness and willingness to enjoy life and make the best of it. But there are other contributions."

The most generally accepted contribution that this type of American makes is that of "frugality," thrift and industriousness." That these traits belong peculiarly to the Italian is attested to by fully eighteen per cent (the highest of any) of the total replies received. Instance in this connection the reply of the ex-Governor of New Jersey, Walter E. Edge,

"The chief contribution that the American of Italian extraction makes to our American Democracy is Thrift. The persistency with which the average Italian coming to this country applies energy to the task of making a living or doing a business in a new and strange environment constitutes a valuable lesson in Thrift and economy."

The statement of Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University is similar, namely

"That men of this type are distinguished for their thrift and energy."

P. P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education holds that,

"The most important contribution the American of Italian origin makes to our American Democracy is a habit and spirit of industry and thrift and self-dependence."

Judge Robert H. Roy attests to the fact that for many

years both official and private professional duties had brought him in daily contact with a great many Americans of Italian origin or extraction and that,

"I have been impressed with their industry, their thrift and their honesty in the discharge of domestic and financial obligations. It seems to me that these are the essential qualities which they have contributed to our American life and the value of these qualities cannot be overestimated."

Senator Jas. E. Martine of New Jersey writes

"His sturdy industry, perseverance and loyalty. To my mind these are the most marked characteristics of the race."

Edward R. Cass, Acting Secretary of the Prison Association of New York is

"Much impressed with the American of Italian extraction's industriousness and thrift but can not lose sight of the problem that so many of the growing Americans of Italian extraction present, principally due to their becoming Americanized sooner than their parents, which often results in lack of control by the old folks."

Geo. W. Loft, Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on National Defense who employs thousands of this type calls him a

"Good American citizen, very painstaking and a first class workman."

Joseph E. Brown, Principal of public school number 44 sees this spirit manifested chiefly in,

"Engaging in small independent business enterprises."

William Dean Howells writes that it is his

"Eager and unfailing industry and politeness until they too imagine that politeness is un-American."

Robert Fulton Cutting calls it an

"Ambition to succeed industrially and a capacity for acquiring knowledge."

The President of the Borough of Brooklyn, Hon. Edward Riegelman, is of the opinion that

"The greatest contribution to our American Democracy made by the American of Italian extraction, is his habit of thrift."

The same is the view of the clergyman and economist, John A. Ryan, who however adds

"Art."

Finally Geo. T. Dimock, President of the Standard Aero Works Company, Elizabeth, N. J., who employs thousands of these people says,

"The American of Italian extraction seems to know that he cannot get something for nothing in America or what is the same thing that those things which he got without giving a fair return to society are of no worth. The term 'honest graft' has no meaning for Italians and the political sinecures are not filled from their ranks. The Italian ideas of industry and thrift are valuable in outweighing the idea common among some groups of peoples that America is the land of easy money and that the most successful man in America is he who makes the easiest money."

A few contributors settled on the well recognized close family ties within the Italian home and state this to be the chief feature that appeals to their minds. Among these was Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, viz:

"If I were to state in a sentence the impression which has been made upon me by the Italian and their influence upon American democracy, I should say that the paternal relations between the Italian and family are worthy of emulation by American fathers."

Judge A. B. David of Elizabeth, N. J. also quotes a similar view saying it is

"His devotion to family and thrift and frugality."

The "Art" or the "Esthetic" contribution has many advocates, and is the one specific contribution that has been mentioned most, excepting that of "Thrift." Monroe Smith of Columbia University says,

"The chief contribution it seems to me, is Esthetic; the feeling for art in the broadest sense, including particularly the good manners which are the print of civilization and which are essential to the harmony of social life."

Likewise Miss Hook, headworker of the well known Richmond Hill House calls their contribution

"A natural instinct for Art."

The well known social worker R. N. Brace of the Children's Aid Society says

"It seems to me that the Italian American must add a great deal to the artistic development of our country."

Prof. Fred A. Bushee, author of "Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston" adds to this sense of art,

"An intelligent use of leisure."

J. Eugene Whitney, Secretary of the Peoples University Extension Society, believes that

"The chief contribution of our Italian-American is to add an artistic element to our American democracy which tends to give even common workmen an artistic satisfaction in doing the best work possible."

Many more contributions stating the wonderful cultural appreciation that this element brings to us could be listed if space afforded. Unfortunately this is not possible; we cannot afford however to close this section without inserting several others that are exceptionally well stated, viz: Dr. Edward N. Clopper, Acting Secretary of the National Labor Committee says,

"The Italian element in our country contributes to making our life more colorful and ourselves more appreciative of artistic things. The Italian's natural love for good music, painting, sculpture, his appreciation and love of life and color counteract in a large measure the sombre Puritanism of the Anglo-Saxon, and thereby make our way of living more interesting and attractive."

Dr. John B. Andrews, Secretary of the American Association for Labor Legislature feels

"The chief contribution of the American of Italian extraction to our American democracy to be the inspiration of his very keen native zest for fullest emotional life as it expresses itself in art and music."

Likewise C. J. Atkinson, Executive Secretary of the Boy's Club Federation calls it

"An artistic temperament and persevering industry."

Prof. Ernest H. Wilkins of the University of Chicago and recently head of the Y. M. C. A. war work in Italy says,

"The chief contribution that Americans of Italian extraction can make to our American democracy is to

impress upon the American public the value of Italian culture. This can be done in two ways: by seeing that young men and young women of Italian origin are enrolled in our educational institutions and elect courses in the language, literature, and art of Italy; honor the Italian name through devotion in public service that other Americans may be convinced that the tree that sends forth such branches is a noble tree."

I. W. Howerth, author of "America in Ferment," states that

"The esthetic interest and appreciation of this life, only partially realized at present owing to a lack of recognition on the part of other Americans of other descents, are the best qualities of the Italian people."

Prof. C. H. Cooley of the University of Michigan hopes that

"The enrichment of the art spirit and the art production in our democracy will prove to be the *distinctive* contribution (certainly not the only one) of the Italian-American."

From the "political" or "governmental" angle there are many who attest to the high place that these people take in this particular field. Witness Dr. A. H. McKinney who says

"The chief contribution which the American of Italian extraction makes to American democracy is an intense love of *liberty* for himself and others, for which he is willing to toil and struggle but which must be wisely directed lest it degenerate into disregard for the rights of others."

State Senator Loring M. Black, Jr., says,

"Americans of Italian extraction have contributed a rugged, unfaltering and exemplary faith in government in America regardless of their partisan and political makeup. They make the one group that has not been bodily conscripted into anv of the political parties and all parties now realize that the Italian vote is not a certain vote but must be won. The American woman of Italian extraction has given our womanhood a splendid example —the propagation of man."

George Gordon Battle believes

"The American of Italian extraction is sincerely democratic (using the word in its broad and not in its narrow political sense) in his sympathies and aspirations. He is intensely individualistic and is a strong advocate of personal freedom. He resents political domination and as soon as he becomes acquainted with our language and our institutions his tendency is to be independent in his political action. There has been an inclination to lay less stress upon his material progress as he becomes more prosperous and his mind turns to public matters and he takes more interest."

It has been asserted many times in writings about the Italian that a chief distinguishing trait is his marvelous adaptability, his wonderful sense of fitting-in with things and people at the right and appropriate time. Italian versatility is often made much of. For this view there are adherents. Miss Ada Beasley asked by Lillian Wald to report on the contribution of the American of Italian extraction says that

"His beautiful children and his extreme adaptability stand out."

William J. Hogson, Physical Director of the Y. M. C. A. at Poughkeepsie and for many years associated with this type says that it is this quality of adaptability that makes it possible for him

"To, while breaking away from the clannishness of the home, establish himself in our American life without loss."

Hastings H. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation says he has been greatly interested in the city of White Plains where he lives,

"To see the wonderful adaptability of our Italian citizens to American ideas and to see the remarkable improvement in the economic condition and education and intelligence of the second generation."

John A. Shedd of 5 West 42nd Street, has had a remarkably long experience with Americans of Italian extraction and believes

"The best contribution to our American democracy made by Americans of Italian extraction is their rapid mastery of the English language and their adoption of

many American customs in their democratic development."

Lastly Thos. W. Lamont eloquently puts this adaptable trait of this people as follows:

"I would say that one of the chief contributions made by Americans of Italian extraction to our American democracy is the *aptitude* with which they blend the individualism that is possible only in a democracy with the spirit of nationalism.

"Italian ancestors of Americans brought this spirit to America many generations ago, for I believe it was the cry of Biagia Nardi in the early thirties of the last century, "Italy is one, the Italian nation, one sole nation" that found its echo in the song of George Pope Morris:

'The watchword recall
Which gave the Republic her station,
United we stand, divided we fall.
It made and preserved us a nation.'"

Dr. P. E. Groszmann, Secretary for the National Association for the Study of Education of Exceptional Children, writes at length viz:

"I have seen that thousands of poor Italian immigrants have developed an independence of spirit which in connection with their deep sentimental temperament has lifted them from the low plane upon which they had been living in their Fatherland, upon a much higher level and has made them ardent members of this democratic community, at least those who chose to become American citizens instead of returning with their savings to Italy.

"The Italian banker, the Italian merchant, the Italian artist have become valuable assets in the development of this country. The wonderful genius of the Italian people freed as it is here from the undemocratic conditions and the traditions of oppression which are characteristic of most European nations, will be a tremendous factor in the evolution of this American nation. And it is my sincere hope that the present war will so favorably react upon Italian home conditions that a Bella Italia of which I have many most inspiring memories will be a freer and a happier country when all is over."

The very complimentary remarks of the Director and Editor of the National Geographic Society, Gilbert Grosvenor, are that

"The Italian who becomes our fellow citizen contributes to our stock unfailing enthusiasm for the beautiful in human nature, imagination to visualize and faith to achieve the impossible and adds to this tenacious grip of democratic ideas, qualities that are essential if a republic is to continue strong amid prosperity."

C. L. Brownson, Dean of the College of the City of New York, where many Americans of Italian extraction of this city go, says that in his judgment

"The chief contribution is the quality of devotion to democratic ideals represented by such adjectives as whole-hearted, ardent, fervent, enthusiastic."

Some very noteworthy statements were received relative to the idealism of Italian nature. His extremely ardent and overwhelming spontaneity and exuberance in all things was to some contributors fertile soil for achievements that are to be accredited only to him whose entire soul is wrapped up in whatever undertaking he has to do. The best one of this strain is that by H. H. Wheaton, Chief of the Division of Immigrant Education who says,

"That the chief contribution that the American of Italian extraction makes to our American democracy is quick sympathy for what he understands to be right and quick anger for what he understands to be wrong. In brief — highly sensitive responsivenes to moral issues."

In a very simple way E. B. S——— states this to be

"A fine idealism for which they are all willing to work hard."

John A. Sleicher, Editor of Leslie's Weekly calls it

"A sincere and constant devotion to America's highest ideals."

Henry W. Thurston of the New York School of Philanthropy believes that their contributions are,

"Their loyalty to friends, to family, and to America plus idealism."

Almost six out of every ten who replied chose to fasten on several rather than on one specific thing as being

indicative of what the American of Italian extraction contributed. Moreover so many stated it was difficult to put these specific contributions down in a few words as was requested, or even in one sentence for that matter. Some of the best statements listing more than one trait are those given by Robert A. Woods of East End, Boston, viz:

"Industry, thrift, skill, loyalty, gaiety."

Graham Taylor of Chicago Commons:

"Strong family ties, industrial habits, love of music and art, responsiveness to American spirit and opportunity, good fellowship with other races."

Lieut.-Col. Geo. B. McClellan, ex-Mayor of New York City, states:

"His industry, his frugality, and his thrift, his cheerfulness, his straightforward simple nature, his courage and his devotion to the land of his adoption makes the American of Italian extraction one of the most valuable national assets."

William L. Ettinger, Superintendent of New York City's public schools writes that

"The American of Italian extraction brings into our life the qualities of industry, frugality, and sobriety. He gives an example of closely knit family life whose members are devoted to each other by strong ties of mutual affection and dependence. His fine feeling for music, painting and the plastic arts contributes to our life these sensitive characteristics of the Italian race."

The poet Robert Underwood Johnson believes his contribution to be

"Industry, good workmanship, and friendly manners."

Arthur W. Towne, Superintendent of the Brooklyn Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children believes that

"They are adding elements of sociability, esthetic appreciation and industry and demonstrating that there are rewards for those who have ambition, character and ability."

A fine statement is that of the Assistant Secretary of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, Mr. H. C. Jacquith:

"Because the average Italian-American is keen and eager to avail himself of every opportunity for education and to use his every stepping stone for advancement he has taught other Americans a greater appreciation of democratic institutions and I believe has stimulated the general attendance of evening schools, libraries, and other outstanding democratic institutions.

"The Italian-American has made a real contribution towards a more adequate appreciation of things artistic. Architecture, painting, music, and what are called the plastic arts, have not only been stimulated by the Italian but the general American public has today an increasing appreciation of these neglected phases of American life and the impetus in this direction has come I believe largely through the Italian element in our racial life."

Jeffrey R. Brackett, Director of the School of Social Service, Boston, says that

"He inclines to feel that the Italian love of beauty expressed in art and music and the cheerfulness of Italians ought to be a distinct help in American life."

So another Director of a Social Economy School, Geo. B. Mangold of the University of Missouri says:

"The chief contribution that the American of Italian extraction makes to our American democracy is to demonstrate the value of industriousness and thrift, and to inculcate the ideals represented by these qualities to some extent into our national life. He is helping to bring democracy out of the clouds and setting it on solid ground. The sociability of the man of Italian descent is also an important contribution since the ultimate success of a democracy depends partly upon the habit of developing friendly contacts."

George S. Davis, President of Hunter College, where most of the American girls of Italian extraction living in New York City go for their collegiate training says:

"From my association with Americans of Italian extraction I have formed the opinion that they possess a certain political and social poise which contributes greatly to the stability and the orderly development of our institutions."

Prof. Oscar Kuhns of Wesleyan University writes that

"The American of Italian extraction is hard working and industrious. No one ever saw a lazy Italian. He is above all the railroad builder of the world. Then again Italy is the home of art in the highest sense of the word: the greatest artists, sculptors and architects have been Italians. Not only in these men of genius has the artistic instinct existed but we find it today among Italians of all classes. In this respect they give much to America by cultivating the appreciation of the various forms of art which adds so much to the intellectual life of a country.

"Finally he adds to our democracy by his unbounded enthusiasm and patriotism. In the present crisis no class of our citizens has responded more nobly to the call of their country."

Wm. E. Davenport, Headworker of the Italian Settlement in Brooklyn who has had contact with people of Italian blood in Italy as well as here says:

"That the thrift and skilled industry of Italian extraction and their tendency to maintain a high quality of workmanship through an inborn artistic feeling is one characteristic contribution that they contribute to American life. Vigor of family life illustrative of unimpaired nervous endowment and essential moral stamina is another."

A very unusual way of looking at the question is shown in the lengthy contribution written by Prof. Lindley M. Keasbey, now Editor of "The International" who says:

"European civilization is made up of two parts: The Beer and Butter civilization of the North and the Wine and Oil civilization of the South. The Beer and Butter people are made up of Nordics and Alpines, the Wines and Oil people are predominate of Mediterranean stock. stock.

"Our environment and conditions are such as to give rise to Beer and Butter and a Wine and Oil civilization in the United States. Except, however, for the Spanish and the French our wine and oil region has been occupied and developed for the most part by Anglo-Saxons and Teutons who are Beer and Butter people. As Nordics

and Alpines they have done well in their strenuous ways. But when all is said they have never really adapted themselves to our Wine and Oil conditions, nor have they made of this southern section what it is destined to be.

"This, I take it, is the chief contribution of Americans of Italian descent. They have gone into and are developing our Southern sea-board states and wherever they go they are continuing the good work begun by their Wine and Oil predecessors, the Spanish and the French. The Italians really understand the true characteristics of Mediterranean civilization and are the very best of all the Wine and Oil people to realize its possibilities in the United States. May the Gulf and the Caribbean sections, which constitute our American Mediterranean, receive them as they should and allow them to play their part in this country as they already have in such great measure abroad."

Howard R. Knight, Superintendent of Playgrounds for Locust Valley, L. I. says he contributes

"A remarkable capacity for intense loyalty, an exceptionally fine appreciation for artistic values, and an unusual willingness to work in order to accomplish the goal he sets for himself."

Will Irvin of the Bureau of Public Information lists the contributions in the following order:

"His industry.
His sense of the art of living.
His intellectuality."

Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University says:

"I have looked upon the Italian immigrant to the United States as one of the most valuable foreign elements from their large population and their untiring industry. They bring highly skilled trades approaching and often reaching the point of industrial arts. They bring a passionate interest in the welfare of their children. Many of the Italians readily seek citizenship and tie themselves with this country permanently."

Almost identical is the statement by President Emeritus Chas. W. Eliot of Harvard University, viz:

"He contributes a good deal of hard, faithful labor; he often proves himself a skillful and industrial trader and distributor.

"His wife bears more children and takes wiser care of daughters than the average American wife.

"He is a real lover of liberty, although he has had little experience with political liberty unless he came from Piedmont."

Mr. Lewis Butcher, Superintendent of the Newsboys' Lodging House, who has observed thousands of this type says:

"He is convinced by careful observation that this is one of the best types that is in our midst — a type that assimilates readily, falls into line with American ways, customs and institutions, and speedily becomes successful in the professions or businesses they enter. They are law-abiding, dependable and forward-looking citizens.

"I have noticed that he has a very keen sense of justice and is easily aroused when he feels he is being imposed upon. Innumerable illustrations I have in mind have demonstrated the ardor, tenacity and indefatigable energy and determination which is characteristic of the entire Italian population.

"Again the Italian-American has made a great contribution to America through his inherent appreciation of the higher arts like music, the drama, sculpture, painting, architecture, etc. I have observed a wonderful illustration of this in the children of the Italian School of the Children's Aid Society. Their entertainments and public presentations are artistic and the Italian temperament is given full play in its relation to music, dramatics, public address and handicraft. When the Italian children sing, they sing with an enthusiasm that is contagious; when they speak they bring to view that force and sentiment which is the very embodiment of energy and life.

"When handicrafts such as sewing, knitting, and kindred work are considered, the specimens show originality and imagination. The Italian-American is a credit to his forbears in Italy and rapidly develops into an American of a clean, patriotic and worthy type."

Heloise Durant Rose, Founder of the Dante League of America says:

"The family affection, thrift, and artistic appreciation

of the Americans of Italian extraction must ever be valuable contributions to our American democracy."

Prof. Robert F. Foerster of Harvard University believes that

"Into the world of practical affairs he brings his vigilant sense of economy; into the ideal world he brings a perception of beauty that should prove of lasting value in moulding our tastes."

Prof. A. J. Todd, Professor of Sociology, and Director of the School for Social Economy at the University of Minnesota states that

"My observation of Americans of Italian extraction is that he contributes thrift, a willingness to work, a sense of art and joy in living to our American democracy. Having lived for a considerable time in the Italian quarter of San Francisco I can also testify that they make excellent neighbors."

Charlotte Perkins Gilman lists:

"A cheerful and competent industry.
High scientific, mechanical and artistic ability.
A contented and home loving spirit."

John Collier says:

"He contributes to our civilization and therefore to our democracy that HELLENIC element which Matthew Arnold contrasts with the HEBRAIC element. Not merely beauty and idealism and a tendency towards encouraging fullness of life but an intellectual realism whose activity is predicated on this esthetic view of life.

N. B.—In the social synthesis HELLENISM AND HEBRAISM are complimentary tendencies and they are not to be found monopolized in pure form by any one group."

The very full reply of Dr. C. A. Prosser, Director of the Federal Bureau for Vocational Education is given at length because of the years of contact that Dr. Prosser has had with Americans of Italian blood, viz:

"I was closely associated with Italian teachers and Italian children in New York City for some three or four years and lived a year in the Italian quarters on Hester Street.

"The Italian of course brings to America all his native

characteristics, good and bad. I must confess that I have seen very little of the bad. The thing that is bad which I would fear were it not that I see it changing so rapidly is the absolute domination of the Italian laborer over his wife. At the same time it should be said that the Italian husband and father is in his way devoted to his family and suffers keenly their adversities.

"Over against this, one must set (and it more than counterbalances the scales) an artistic instinct, a love of good music, and a sense of form and color, particularly the latter, the possession of an artistic ability not to be found even amongst similar groups of French immigrants.

"In addition the Italian brings a joy of living and a capacity to play and to throw off troubles with his play which is of no small part in relieving the stress of living in crowded quarters in New York.

"Best of all even when he has not been naturalized (a thing to be said against the Italian) he has shown a capacity to assimilate himself into American life and an appreciation of democratic institutions and a loyalty equal to that of any foreign population."

Henry Dwight Sedgwick writes:

"The American of Italian extraction brings to our conception of democracy which in the main is a development of English tradition, the Latin conception of democracy which is bolder, more fundamental, more deeply affected by the doctrine i.e., an absence of all privilege than ours is and thereby gives to our more cautious and experimental conception a broader and more permanent basis."

For one of the best all-around presentations of this type's influence upon our American life, we give at length the well executed contribution of Prof. James Geddes, Jr., of Boston University, viz:

"What is the chief contribution that the American of Italian extraction makes to our American democracy? Stated in a single sentence the chief contribution at the present time of the American of Italian extraction to American democracy is the stimulus he gives to agricultural, industrial, scientific and cultural activities.

"In the four centuries that have intervened between

Columbus and Marconi, comparatively few Italians have played any conspicuous part, and this for the simple reason that Italian immigration is of very recent date. As late as 1850 there were fewer than 4000 immigrants from Italy in the whole United States. It is within the last quarter of a century particularly that a great change has come over the Italian people. They have begun to invent, to do farming in a modern way on a large scale, to manufacture, to engage in commerce and state affairs, and to cultivate the fine arts. More than 3000 Italians crossed the ocean in 1914 to visit the St. Louis Exposition and do business with the United States. The stream of educated Italians has kept on coming ever since.

"The impulse along agricultural lines may be felt in the many beautiful garden sections cultivated in this country by Italians, notably in Connecticut where they have made the rocky hills "blossom as the rose," and in Bryan, Texas, center of an ever-increasing and thrifty colony. In industrial activity it is well known that the founders of the extensive wine business in California are Italians. Along scientific lines the followers of Marconi, Ansaldo and Caproni are forging steadily ahead, and in cultural activities and the fine arts one has only to glance through the lists of names of those composing the personnel of artists, sculptors, actors, musicians and grand opera singers to realize the important role played by Italians in the world of art.

"The influence of our Italian population in these and many other activities in our national life is undoubtedly very great. The innate prestige that attaches itself to Italy and to Rome is perpetual and enduring. Are not these Italians of our day the new type of the old Romans whose civilization in many ways has never been surpassed and whose aims, ideals, and results offer an incentive to higher effort along many lines of activity? In striving to keep abreast of these ideals and results the Americans, in a measure subconsciously, are undergoing the influence of the rising generation of Italians born in this country. The latter are furnishing the former the strongest incentives to effort not only to achieve but to surpass all that has ever been accomplished in order to obtain all that is most worth while.

"From the earliest times the democratic spirit of the Italians has been manifest on the world through their tribunes — to go back to the Gracchi — and we have had right here in our Italian colony of Boston their worthy imitators both patrician and plebian. True democracy may be said to have begun with government by the people in the times of the Italian Republics when the arts and crafts, especially in Florence, figured so notably. And in our own day, just before the beginning of the present world war, was not *il Re soldato* called *il Re democratico?*

"That the Italian people are democratic is shown right here among ourselves by the whole-hearted way they accept our ideal of democratic government. Those born in this country are emphatically loyal as shown by the fact that of all our volunteers for military service recently, the Italians made the highest record, with 70,000 men, or twenty per cent of the total number. Moreover, this loyal democratic spirit is emphasized by their generous contributions to the American Red Cross, by their extensive purchase of Liberty Bonds and war stamps, by their participation in the work in the munition factories and other government enterprises. It is this same popular democratic spirit that manifests itself in the effective propaganda carried on by means of continual patriotic meetings with speeches galore sufficient to galvanize the most lethargic, by flag raisings, by popular concerts, by the Italian Press, and the organization of the Italian Legion, all tending strongly to keep up the morale and deal a knockout blow to Teutonic kultur.

"Our American-born Italians are descended from that land of liberty which gave to the world Columbus, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Cavour, knights of democracy and humanity. It may be said that their descendants in this country are in a general way exerting their greatest influence by popularizing arts identified largely with Italy: music, painting, and sculpture, embroidery and lace making in which the Italian women have always excelled, thus as it were, democratizing the fine art. Indeed of all the elements amalgamated together that are leavening our immense democratic lump, there is

none whose flavor promises to be more highly appreciated than that inheritance within our own ranks which we have received from Italy."

The last two replies we shall quote are eloquent and pithy though they look at the question from different and even unusual angles. Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones spent some years in investigating the home conditions of Americans of Italian extraction and incorporated in his excellent "Sociology of a New York City Block" the fruits of his labors. Dr. Jones who is now a "Specialist" in Education for the Department of the Interior has emphasized the psychological aspects of the contributions that foreigners make to our American life perhaps better than anyone else. His answer in this instance as applied to the contribution of the Italian is:

"The chief contribution of the American of Italian extraction to American democracy is the quality of devotion to democratic ideals represented by such adjectives as whole-hearted, whole-souled, ardent, fervent, enthusiastic."

As a fitting conclusion we quote the simple but eloquent statement of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise:

"The chief contribution that the American of Italian extraction may make to our democracy is to remember that while his goal is AMERICA, his starting point is Italy; that he is not to submerge his Italianism in America but to merge it with Americanism at its highest. He is to bring to America consciously and of purpose that Latin reverence for law which must underlie the democratic order."

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS—In attempting to get a representative consensus of definite opinions regarding the specific contribution that the American of Italian blood makes to our American Democracy, the writer has not, as the results show, proved anything that was not heretofore pretty generally accepted, nor are the results which the symposium brings to light different from those which he expected.

It is from a standpoint of classification that this attempt to array together the facts pertaining to the value of this type of American, is chiefly valuable. In

the past it has been the custom when a writer dealt with social facts, particularly with facts relative to social pathology, to lay the blame for all "social maladjustments" upon the community; this with a grip on actual conditions very attenuated at best. Today modern sociology seeks to treat social facts quantitively when ever possible and above all, in relation to the whole social system. The purpose of this symposium is to fasten on a concrete phase of the adjustment which Americans of Italian origin make to our community when associated with other Americans, and which appear as "gains," "losses," and "contributions."

With this end in view considerable care was spent in drawing up lists of names of men and women whose experience has been of a character to justify placing confidence and trust in their replies. Because of the extremely varied way the American of Italian extraction touched our American life, it was obviously necessary to question people from all walks of life to get a fair consensus of views.

The writer went carefully thru the membership files of the American Academy of Political Science, the American Sociological Society, the American Economic Association, and other representative organizations in order to secure a pick of only those individuals from whom an answer to the question "What does the American of Italian extraction contribute to American democracy?" would be valuable and could be considered as of sufficient weight to have any confidence imposed therein.

Likewise in seeking replies for question number 1, "What does the American of Italian extraction gain," both extremes, the "tenement" type and "professional" types of Americans of Italian extraction were asked to give their views because of the desire to get opinions that were not one-sided. It was not at all unreasonable to assume that to each of these types of American, democracy might mean a distinct and altogether different thing.

The greatest difficulty was encountered in securing the average percentage of replies to question number 2, "What does the American of Italian extraction lose, by

his contact with American democracy?" The replies to this question showed a marked diversity of opinion regarding whether a "loss" obtained or no. Here again only those individuals were asked whose opinions would be valuable because of their complete saturation with the pure Italian culture.

Not one of the least valuable elements of the symposium is, therefore, the representative character of the leaders of thought who have contributed. Not only are all of the important professions represented but nearly every section of the country besides. The symposium's results are results that attest to the uniformity of opinion regarding this type that exists thruout the country as a whole.

In getting up this symposium some may question the wisdom of permitting the three questions to be placed in one questionnaire. The reason for this feeling, it may be urged, is that it tends to affect the nature of the reply of the contributor and one would necessarily have a reaction alloyed by the influence of a previous anticipation of what others would most likely answer to the other two questions. On the contrary the writer believes that the placing of the three questions on the one and same questionnaire gives it a value that otherwise would not obtain, namely of pointing out to each contributor the entire scheme or general plan of this study, which is to evaluate this type sociologically. Therefore, realizing this, one is more apt to confine himself to the specific question to which he is replying instead of making qualifications, exceptions and other remarks that must necessarily be irrelevant to the answer and consequently detract from its value.

Some might even question the value of such a general question as "What does the American of Italian extraction contribute to our American democracy?" In answer the following is pertinent. In judging a people's status by civilizatory stages whether mental, cultural, material, etc., one must take into consideration the relation of such peoples to the entire sociological stratum of the particular country in which those people happen at any particular moment to be placed. The thesis of this

dissertation is that for all peoples of superior cultures the germinal potentialities are uniformly capable of a relatively like development. It would be ridiculous to attempt to pin down a contributor to a specific question like "What mental traits does the American of Italian extraction contribute to our American democracy because (1) nine out of ten contributors would not know and (2) it would not help us in furthering the end aimed at in the symposium. We are trying to find out the relative values that these peoples have in our "social mixing." With the gradual passing of time, and with the slow and laborious accretion of those particular racial characteristics that we know the Italian race has to give us, the American people of to-morrow will be a different people. It is of no moment to say that at a certain date a certain per cent of the second generation of Americans of Italian extraction were found to be in such and such positions and betrayed a certain type of mind. It is absolutely certain that the Italian strain, as has been proved true of the earlier German and Irish strains, effects contacts, at first, that are not permanent but represent a temporary adjustment made by a people essentially in "transition." Rather therefore it is for us to ascertain the sociological significance of the Italian infiltration in our midst from a broad general perspective, if we are to correctly gauge the trend and newer impulse that these people give to us.

Stated in a word, the results of the symposium show that the chief contribution of the immigrant Italians are also those of his offspring representing the second generation of Americans. The qualities of thrift and reliability, dependability, steadiness, soberness of character, consistent labor, conscientious application to the daily tasks of life however simple, frugality, sobriety, patience — these are the outstanding contributions. Little if at all subordinate to these are the qualities of joviality, lightsomeness of heart, optimism, cheeriness, high fraternalship, sympathy, warmth, hospitality. All of these are equally marked.

It is the Italian's geniality and romantic high-spiritedness that brings out his artistic sensitiveness. The

traits of musical appreciation, of sculpture, of the plastic arts, of love for the drama, of courtesy, of high-mindedness — these are all parts of his traditions. His love for beauty, his thoughtfulness when not operating under too severe economic pressure, his deferential demeanor are not assumed mannerisms. They are instinctive though they "slough off in an American environment." The Italian is emotionally rich. This is his *great* psychical contribution to American democracy.

No one has yet invented any way of measuring this contribution. Stated in a phrase one may call it "a high ratio of variability." It makes him "artistic, dreamy, and full of ideals" while holding him down to the menial tasks of everyday living with a patience and docility that is all the more astounding because of the incongruity.

As to his "LOSSES," they are his good manners, family ties and at the beginning a reverence for race and elders. The first two "losses" are peculiar to the Italian home; the last is a condition that obtains among all first generations of Americans.

If the American of Italian extraction has lost good manners he has been given by us in exchange a sense of individual freedom, a feeling of independence, which sometimes may need a bit of redirection; and most of all he has acquired a desire to better himself and together with this the possibilities for its realization. Some "losses" are to be expected. Everything being relative we need but to ask which in a scale of values is less important.

Undoubtedly to the younger American of Italian extraction the biggest thing in life with him is his future. America is "par excellence" the land of the future. So that for the time being it may be true that some of these Americans of Italian blood whom we see growing up in our larger cities are certainly not Americans in the sense that we think of the ultimate American; nor are they Italians for they scorn and are scorned by the adult Italian. They represent a type in transition.

The question "What does the American of Italian extraction gain through his contacts here" brought many

interesting and perhaps unexpected replies. Fully fifty-two per cent of the replies stressed the element of the future, and the opportunity and actual possibility of seeing materialize within their own lifetime and in their own specific life the benefits and advantages of a free America, of a more equal distribution of this world's goods, of better living conditions, of shorter working hours, etc. All of this carries with it, best of all, the development of a spirit of appreciation of the fact that one has been allowed to share in the work of developing America; that what he gets here is not as if it were a bone thrown to him, but a right which is a recognition of his share of the task accomplished and his absolute essentiality to the full and proper completion of said task. Therefore it is this sense of self-independence, of sturdy self-reliance, of the exhilarating pleasure of the struggle to achieve that marks the great gain as more than fifty per cent of the replies for this type of American show.

Looked at from both ends, from the end of the newer American it appears from the symposium that America is allowing him a fair and just means in the way of opportunity to develop "a maximum number of socially acceptable original capacities maximally," and that on the other hand there is no question that these individuals have a peculiar contribution to make to America and furthermore, what is important, they are making it.

It is all too unfortunate that this "give and take" process or what in other words may be termed the "rate of synthetization" is not quantitatively measurable. But we have it established that so far as the original and native capacity of this type is concerned this proceeds on a par with that of other people. The only other factors that need to be considered and which in this connection may operate either as a help or a hindrance are social, not racial, and concern all stocks, so we do not dwell upon them here. Besides they are American. In closing this section we would do well to quote the observation of Miss Lillian Brandt made some years ago on the nature of the adjustment of these second generations of Americans in an American environment, viz:

"Surely an unprejudiced scrutiny of the American type does not establish the conviction that there is nothing further to be desired. There are points at which we are susceptible of improvement, there are qualities of which we have only a faint trace for whose possession we should be justified in making some sacrifice. The Italians have a delight in simple pleasures, an appreciation for other things than mere financial success, a sense of beauty, a kindliness and social grace which would not be wholly unendurable additions to our predominant traits."†

TABLE I

REPLIES RECEIVED STATED IN PERCENTAGES

Total number of questionnaires sent	1000
Total number of replies received	397
Per Cent	39.7
Number of replies giving "positive" reaction	267
Per Cent	26.7
Number of replies giving "negative" reaction	29
Per Cent	.029
Number of replies giving "neutral" reaction	30
Per Cent	.03
Number of replies received and unclassified*	.71
Per Cent	.71

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF REPLIES ACCORDING TO DESCENT OF CONTRIBUTOR

NATIONALITY	Americans of Italian descent	Italians	Americans of other descents
Total number of questionaires sent	333	333	334
Total number of replies received	118	124	155
Per Cent	35.44	37.24	46.41
Number of replies giving "positive" reaction	114	49	104
Per Cent	34.24	14.71	31.14
Number of replies giving "negative" reaction	——	23	6
Per Cent	——	6.91	.02
Number of replies giving "neutral" reaction	1	29	——
Per Cent	.03	8.71	——
Number of replies unclassified*	3	23	45
Per Cent	.01	6.91	13.52

† Lillian Brandt, "A Transplanted Birthright or the Second

TABLE III

REPLIES LISTED ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE OF CONTRIBUTOR

Residence	Questions No. 1	No. 2	No. 3
Ann Harbor, Mich.	—	—	1
Binghamton, N. Y.	—	1	—
Boston, Mass.	4	5	5
Boulder, Col.	—	—	1
Cambridge, Mass.	—	—	7
Camp Grant, Ill.	—	—	1
Chicago, Ill.	—	—	3
Elizabeth, N. J.	1	1	3
Intervale, N. H.	—	—	1
Jersey City, N. J.	3	—	—
Manuet, N. Y.	—	—	1
Middletown, Conn.	—	—	1
Minneapolis, Minn.	—	—	1
Newark, N. J.	2	2	1
New Haven ,Conn.	2	—	1
New York City, N. Y.			
Manhattan	65	43	56
Bronx	8	12	—
Brooklyn	16	19	—
Queens	3	8	—
Richmond	2	6	—
Mooseheart, Ill.	—	—	1
Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	1	—	1
Philadelphia, Pa.	—	1	1
Plainfield, N. J.	—	—	2
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	—	—	1
San Francisco, Cal.	2	—	1
St. Louis, Mis.	—	—	1
Trenton, N. J.	—	—	2
Troy, N. Y.	—	—	1
Washington, D. C.	3	—	8
Yonkers, N. Y.	3	3	2
Unclassified	3	23	45
Total	118	124	155

Generationed Italians in an American Environment." Charities 1904.

* Unclassified—Returned by postman, lack of sufficient knowledge, absences due to the war, Americans of French extraction, etc.

TABLE IV

REPLIES LISTED ACCORDING TO VOCATION OR PROFESSIONS

	Questions No. 1	No. 2	No. 3
Actor	3	—	—
Anthropologist	—	—	2
Artist	—	3	—
Assemblyman	1	—	—
Author	—	—	4
Banker	—	4	—
Borough President	—	—	1
Business man	6	8	3
Capitalist	—	—	3
Clergyman	3	7	8
Clerk	5	8	—
College student	17	—	2
Commissioner of education	2	—	1
Congressman	—	—	1
Dentist	2	—	—
Director, School of Social Economy	—	—	3
Doctor	9	6	1
Draughtsman	1	—	—
Economist	1	—	2
Editor	—	2	5
Electrician	1	5	—
Executive Secretary	—	—	6
Governor	—	—	1
Head worker (settlement)	—	—	6
Journalist	—	2	—
Judge	—	—	2
Lawyer	11	7	2
Librarian	1	—	1
Manufacturer	—	3	—
Mayor	—	—	1
Mechanic	2	—	—
Municipal employee	1	—	—
Musician	6	6	—
Painter	—	1	—
Pharmacist	4	—	—
Principal (school)	3	—	1
Printer	3	—	—
Professor (economics)	1	—	3
" (engineering)	1	—	1
" (government)	—	—	1
" (law)	—	—	1
" (medicine)	1	—	—
" (philosophy)	—	—	1
" (romance language)	—	3	4
" (sociology)	—	—	4

	Questions No. 1	No. 2	No. 3
Poet	—	—	1
Publicist	—	2	3
Rabbi	—	—	1
Retired (business)	—	1	—
Senator	—	—	2
Social worker	6	5	6
Sociologist	—	—	6
Soldier	3	—	—
Specialist in education	—	—	2
Statistician	1	—	—
Steamship agent	—	3	—
Stenographer	3	8	3
Stock exchange broker	—	—	1
Superintendent of education	—	—	2
Teacher	4	7	1
Teamster	1	1	—
University president	—	—	4
Y. M. C. A. Secretary	—	—	4
Anonymous	12	9	3
Unclassified	3	23	45
Total	118	124	155

TABLE V

"GAINS" LISTED ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY

Nature of "gain"	Number of times noted	Percentage of total
Freedom (individual)	21	17.71
Educational opportunity	16	13.56
Economic and industrial opportunity	13	11.02
General gain (all round development)	12	10.17
Equality with other races	9	7.62
Self-reliance	6	5.09
Higher standard of living	4	3.39
Spirit of co-operation	4	3.39
Respect for justice	4	3.39
Ambition	3	2.55
Development of personality	2	1.69
Breadth of vision	2	1.69
Loss of religious fetters	1	.18
Loss of fear of government	1	.18
Free speech	1	.18
Neutral	1	.18
Unclassified	3	2.55
Total	118	100.0

TABLE VI
"LOSSES" LISTED ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY

Nature of Reply	Number of times noted	Percentage of total
POSITIVE*		
Loss of "love for race, respect for elders, reverence for family"	17	13.6
Loss of "Latin idealism"	12	9.7
Loss of "artistic" inheritance	9	7.2
Loss of "politeness, good manners, sentimental qualities"	6	4.9
Loss of "respect for church"	5	4.0
NEGATIVE**		
No "loss" whatever	23	18.5
NEUTRAL†		
"Loss" offset by a "gain"	29	23.4
UNCLASSIFIED		
Returned by postman, lack of sufficient knowledge, absences due to the war, French and Spanish citizens, etc	23	18.5
TOTAL	124	100.0

TABLE VII
"CONTRIBUTIONS" LISTED ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY

Nature of "contribution"	Number of times noted	Percentage of total
Industriousness and thrift	28	18.07
Love of beauty, music, aesthetic appreciation, art sense	17	10.9
Optimism, cheerfulness, buoyancy, joy of living, enthusiasm	11	7.0
Devotion to ideals	7	4.6
Physical labor	6	3.8
Adaptability	5	3.2
Love for liberty	5	3.2
Courtesy, politeness, good manners, culture and refinement	4	2.6
Devotion to democratic ideals	4	2.6
Devotion to family, race, and elders	3	1.9
Ambition	2	1.3
Self-reliance, self dependence	2	1.3
Sociability	1	.15
Honesty	1	.15
General (all round contribution)	8	5.2
Negative replies	6	3.8
Unclassified	45	29 6
TOTAL	155	100.0

* Reply classed as "positive" if a "loss" is stated to exist.

** Reply classed as "negative"—contributor believes no loss exists.

† Reply classed as "neutral"—contributor states a "gain" to exist as well as a "loss."

CHAPTER XXVI

SOME POSITIVE MEASURES OF REFORM

HOW TO ECONOMICALLY PRESERVE THE HIGH PHYSICAL POWERS OF THE RAW IMMIGRANT AND FACILITATE THE PROCESS OF SYNTHETIZATION

ABOLITION OF "PADRONE" SYSTEM—As the symposium in an earlier chapter showed, one of the chief sources of value that the Italian immigrant has for us is "labor." He has contributed the brawn that has made possible the physical upbuilding of this nation and the creation of America's physical wealth.

America however has been careless of this gift. The Italian Consul for Western Pennsylvania reported in one year over 500 deaths due to industrial accidents and as Dr. Stella has shown, the loss of life that is entirely preventable is higher among these people than among any other of all the different races in America.

In Italy the immigrant never experienced such a shocking waste of his offspring. Himself possessed of a robust constitution and rugged fund of health he passed on to his progeny substance and vitality of a like kind. The social system however that permits such hygienic conditions as is described by Dr. Stella, Dr. Guilfoy and others makes great inroads upon this native fund of health. In fact the very font itself is contaminated. For it is true that in this country conditions not very long ago permitted labor to be used for ten hours and even more a day.* Relative to this Dr. Stella says, "I must make mention of the effects of the extreme severity of

*Apart from the item of occupational diseases incurred thru the slow wearing down of the human organism, there is the important question of industrial accidents. While it is true in America today fatalities are few, only 2,337 out of 280,308 mishaps resulting in loss of life, nevertheless as W. C. Fisher points out in his review of existing compensation laws in the United States. . . . "there are hundreds of thousands injured.... which causes a more or less serious impairment of productive power and earning capacity." (Vide Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 30, p. 53.)

the work undergone by these people and the frequency with which minors among the Italian elements of this city are found at unusually severe work which in many cases helps to explain the physical degeneration and joined with other factors of congestion brings on a heightened susceptibility to all kinds of diseases."

An enlightened labor policy reinforced by adequate modern social legislation serving to ensure to these people and their descendants the fund of rugged health and vigorous constitution that is theirs thru generations of birthright will also in the long run rebound to America's good. Thus she will be taking care of these faithful and humble workers of the soil, mill, and factory. Besides America will be providing for the future against a paucity of labor supply so vitally necessary for maintaining the degree of efficiency and present high pace set by modern efficiency methods.

In the past more than in the present the abominable "padrone" evil where the Italian himself was permitted to prey upon his fellow countryman proved perhaps the greatest source of mischief. Padrones today are not nearly as numerous as they were two decades ago. The same can be said of many immigrant bankers. These latter without any security whatever were the depositories for all the little "savings" that thousands of Italian workers had slowly, laboriously and painfully earned and sedulously accumulated. These moneys in many cases represented all that stood between them and starvation. Roberts says that there were 1000 such banks and that there was sent to Europe thru such bankers, in 1908 alone, the year when the actions of such individuals were investigated by a state appointed committee, the sum of $275,000,000. Besides this sum these immigrant bankers themselves retained on deposit $7,000,000 yearly. The New York Committee on Immigration found that 1.5 per cent of these foreign banks failed and that their liabilities were five per cent of the sums handled. Such bankers particularly in New York City did a thriving business. This city also was the scene of several of the most spectacular failures of such banks; namely Cesare Conti, Cuneo, Patti, and many

others. These individuals had thruout a long period of time built banks of apparently complete security. The failures involved thousands of Italian families and the sums mounted up to the millions.

REGULATION AND CONTROL OF UNEMPLOYMENT—A good deal of the physical malconditions found among the children of Italians are due to undernourishment and mal-nutrition. According to researches made by Dr. Stella it would seem that the reasons for the prevalence of rickets among the children in Italian homes are the environmental conditions such as overcrowding and the congestion of the slums plus the absence of a proper diet. Innumerable investigations conducted among the Italians showed that Italians do not eat enough meat as compared to vegetables. As a consequence, their children have a higher percentage of rickets, a disease particularly due to mal-nutrition, than has any other racial stock in this city. But this physical condition has its antecedents rooted in an economic one. Even as late as 1916 the very large number of Italian families in New York City that were thrown near the verge of starvation by changed industrial conditions due to a change of administration is our best witness. When the Italian peasant first arrives his portion of cereal is three-quarters as large as England gives to her paupers, while his portion of meat is less than one-fifth. Work that is intermittent in character will not hasten the day when this menu will be changed and more meat eaten.

Further review of the very close connection between undernourishment and the unemployment problem is unnecessary here. The last annual conference of the American Health Association held in Chicago was the occasion for a host of the leading medical men of this country and of Canada to tell, in minute detail, of the very close relation between unemployment and ill health. Abundant proof was given by the speakers at this conference to the fact "that mortality is in direct ratio to the wage rate; that the disease-rate increases as wages decrease and diminishes as the pay envelope gets fuller. Higher wages means better diet, improved business,

better medical care, prevention of disease, a more robust physique and a general improvement of the workers."* As the separate investigations conducted among isolated sections of the Italian quarters showed, the average yearly income of the Italian bread winner is between $600 and $1000. Dr. Royal Meeker who conducted the most recent investigation regarding the cost of living and retail prices of all necessities in communities in many parts of the country, says that the results of his inquiry "clearly show that for a really decent standard of living for a family of five, it is necessary to have at least $1,687 a year and perhaps not less than $1,800." In the case of the Italian it explains in part why the newer generation represents a more devitalized stock than does the older generation.

It is necessary for Americans to face this problem of unemployment resolutely and fearlessly. Before the war broke out conditions had become so bad in the second year of tenure of the last administration that in New York City the specially appointed Mayor's Work Committee had to deliberately create work in the Italian quarters and elsewhere so that these people could on the pretense of doing something be given a small pittance enabling them to eke out a miserable existence. In 1916 just such a workshop was established at the Italian School on Hester and Elizabeth Streets. This school is the greatest organized center for welfare work among Italians downtown. The workshop temporarily created there afforded work for over four hundred such families and fully five thousand garments were made that were used to help make easier the burden of the poor. Providing steady and regular employment will obviate many difficulties.

ELIMINATION OF DISEASE—Recent experiences have shown us how weak certain vital elements in our population are. The recent expansion of our army forced us for the first time to take a survey of the physical condition of the nation. The point in this is that this was a decision which had not been chosen but was forced upon us. With other countries this "laisser faire" period

* Survey, December 21, 1918, p. 373-4.

has already been passed. Italy today has more advanced and enlightened laws aiming to safeguard the health of the immigrant than any nation. Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett who was appointed a special agent by the Department of Labor to investigate conditions surrounding immigrant women on steamships says:

"As the Italian Government has taken the lead among civilized nations in its legislation to protect immigrants, I was especially anxious to test the value of its law. Every ship touching an Italian port carries a Royal Commissioner appointed by the government. The Commissioner is required to make an extended inspection of every part of the ship twice a day to test the food furnished and to examine the water as regards quality and quantity.

"When a ship reaches the Italian port the Commissioner must personally see that the quarters and all the bedding in the steerage are cleaned and fumigated. If the captain does not cooperate with the Commissioner on touching at an Italian port the Commissioner may order the captain's arrest. In addition to the foregoing, the government requires a strict medical examination of any person desiring to purchase a steamship ticket.

"Immigrant stations are maintained by the Italian government at the principal ports of Italy and no department of the government is better supported and considered of more importance.

"I found that the laws and regulations of the Italian government are rigidly and intelligently enforced and that the welfare and interest of immigrants is materially augmented by the presence of a Commissioner on a ship."*

But the minute he lands here this solicitude relaxes upon the part of the keepers of his new home. These people crowd into the lower part of Manhattan Island which is congested with commerce and residences; in addition there are in the county as a whole and in a large proportion in this congested part seventy-six per cent of the manufacturing population of the city, or

* Report of Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett—Appendix Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 1914.

forty-one per cent of such for the state. Congestion of this sort is a great underminer of health.

One of the blessings of the war was the easing of the pressure of population in the slum districts by reason of the wholesale inductions of the youth of the nation in the military drafts. This was true not only in big centers like New York, Chicago, and Boston in this country but elsewhere on the continent in Paris, Liverpool, etc. "It is said that the slums of London have disappeared; that in the incessant appeal for labor, enlistments, and conscription, the idlers and even the vicious have been swept into useful employment. The conclusion is inevitable that if the same energy and spirit can be continued after peace is restored and developed into construction and production, the entire level of living conditions will be raised above that of the past."*

The military drafts upon the manhood of the nation have given us a chance to catch our breath and for a moment we were beginning to learn how to live. With rations pared of all superficialities, a minimum of luxuries and non-essentials, assiduous cultivation of the virtues of thrift, abstention, and frugal but wholesome living we were unconsciously laying the foundation for a saner and simpler life which if continued would have swept away for all time many of the most glaring monstrosities of city life such as gangsters, corrupt ward politicians, etc. In taking the American of the slums away from his perverting environment whether he be of Italian, Jewish, Polish or Irish parentage and putting him in contact with our splendid Americans from the middle west, far west and the Pacific coast — we gave him a chance to see what it really means to live—and what is more important, how to live. It is no exaggeration to say that a year in our military cantonments, for many of the Americans of Italian stock at any rate, was something in the nature of a year at a large cosmopolitan university.

It is such a change as this — the mingling with Amer-

*Economic Conditions, Government Finance etc., National City Bank — July-1918.

icans of the middle West and other parts of the country that Dr. Jones thinks is the line of greatest development for the American of Italian extraction. He believes that "the greatest gain of the Italian thru contact with the American type, if he is fortunate to meet a sufficient number of Americans of the old New England or the present Middle West type, is the curbing of a tendency to impulsive thought and action and the increase of deliberation as a habit of muscle and mind."** On the other hand Prof. Benjamin M. Anderson, Jr., of Harvard, looking at this social mixing from its opposite aspect, thinks that the Italian's joyous attitude toward life and spontaneity in living is a genial corrective of the rigors of the Puritan tradition contributed by New England. Essentially, then, the contact is a "give" and a "take" between the two peoples.

We are beginning to realize that the newer immigration has something of distinct value to add to our American democracy. In the past much of the precious immigrant heritage has been wasted. America has been a profligate. Systematic measures aiming to disseminate information relative to prevention of disease and vice on a broad scale are as yet but in their infancy. We need a national health survey. It would repay us to make an assay of the entire physical condition of our peoples to know exactly what racial predispositions toward certain diseases exist; also what relative immunities obtain.

RECREATION — One of the mal-social conditions that in the past and even today makes great inroads upon the raw physical potentialities of our Italian stock is the prevalence of resorts of "commercialized" vice. This is the canker that needs cutting at the very core if a permanent cure is to be effected. This condition ought to be faced resolutely and without flinching. Too often when the Americanized Italian meets this form of social degeneracy he looks upon it as a truly American institution.

The educator has taught us that many of our in-

** Comment volunteered in answer to question 1, see questionaire, p. 238.

stincts need to be redirected and healthy social aims substituted, if we would not be hurried into moral and physical decadence. It is not enough to tell the American of Italian extraction that resorts of commercialized vice, gambling dives, etc., are socially bad and un-American. An agency for positive good must be substituted. More playgrounds and wider recreational facilities are the means that are to transform this type of individual into a healthy American citizen with a wholesome body and wholesome mind. Action, plenty of it, for this vivacious people is necessary. Nor is it enough to give them these facilities and trust them to work out their salvation. Adequate, intelligent and sympathetic leadership is another prime essential. Greater use must be made of the people themselves in order to have them fully enter into this matter of conserving their manhood. Sartorio suggests that "there should be in the large foreign colonies organized lectures, distribution of information, both in Italian and in English to explain and instruct in regard to American industry, laws, institutions and morals."*

Concrete suggestions that as yet remain to be worked out in proper relation to the particular health needs and economic status of these people are, the limitation of the working day, a minimum wage, prohibition of night-work, of tenement work for children and for women, the removal of the slum colonies, the erection of cheap homes in the suburbs, city planning with the segregation of factories, the founding of suburban industrial centers, etc. All these point out what lies in the future and present problems, the successful working out of which require considerable time.

SOCIALLY PREPARE FOR A MORE FRICTIONLESS MIXING

DIFFERENT ATTITUDE OF MIND — Today, as in the past, how to prepare for a more "frictionless mix-

* Sartorio, Henry C. — "Social and Religious Life of Italians in America" p 64.

ing" is pretty much of a "hit and miss" or "trial and error" plan. When his due was not forthcoming it was assumed either that the American of Italian extraction was getting his deserts and was satisfied or that he was not prepared and did not complain. A permanent cure for this means getting at the heart of the trouble. The fundamental attitude of some people must be changed; discrimination based upon differences of race should cease; greater sympathy can come only with greater understanding. Woods speaks of this need very effectively, viz:

> "One of the most serious obstacles that confronts the ambitious youth from the North and West end takes the form of certain racial dislikes felt by men of power in the city's business affairs . . . the Italians cannot be kept from entering a very wide range of occupations but their rise in their callings is often hindered by that caution on the part of employers which is akin to prejudice . . . the waste of ability and genius is coming to be recognized as a dangerous form, a public profligacy."*

Much of the past difficulty has been due to the fact that the Italian is cut off from any contact with the truly American element, but is ruled and governed, as Villari says, by a "horde of adventurers and camorristi who maintain the municipal distinctions and diversions, factions and superstitions of his native village."

We take time to quote one instance of the way this wrong attitude of mind operates to make for misunderstanding. At Barre, Vermont, are a group of very intelligent and educated Italian speaking workingmen. Mangano says they speak and write French, German and Italian, have studied in the universities and technical schools to acquire their skill in design and execution and have much more learning than the average citizen of Barre. They could be made very helpful members of the community if the Americans and the Italians could only learn to understand one another. In fact it was the Italian element which made the first move to help themselves. They subscribed money enough to employ a teacher of drawing and designing for their children.

* Woods, Robert A.—"Americans in Process" p 373.

But the Americans abandoned one section of the town to them and would have nothing to do with them. Mangano says that the Italian-speaking population resent the hostile attitude of these older Americans and so the split continues.

EDUCATION — Some who have argued the merits of these Americans have based their conclusions upon a hasty acceptance of the position of this class in our public schools and upon the nature of the adjustment that these children of Italian parentage effect in our system of public education. The fallacy here consists in assuming that the system is absolutely correct and unequivocal subservience to the system not only is desired but actually demanded.

In effect this is to have the children existing for the school and not the school for the children. Some people overlook the fact that school systems today exist largely for the abstract type of mind a type of mind that is frequently met with in the Americans of Jewish extraction. As Ayres has so well said, "in considering the different types of education to be given, the question of how to handle a Dutch immigrant child is very different from that of how to treat an Italian."* The fact is overlooked that not infrequently the American of Italian extraction if he is not of that artistic type of mind which, when subjected to the inflexible regimen and circumscribing character of present academic procedure, works itself all awry and never does itself justice — he is just as apt to be of that industrially minded turn which likes to tinker about machines, lathes and work-benches.

There is no attempt here at a reflective judgment with regard to the relative values of the abstract, artistic, and industrially minded. This simply portrays a condition and describes a fact, instancing concretely how planes of universal-human-potentiality are cut across and are dissected by lines of racial characteristics and individual differences.

If as the educational psychologist assures us, the chief problem in our democracy is the preservation of the in-

*Ayres, Leonard P.— "Laggards in Our City Schools" p 106.

dividual variant in adjustment to organized effort, to the effect that it might protect, perfect, and perpetuate itself, and if to American publicists, in considering the matter of a people's assimilation and synthetization, the public school is the foundation stone in this whole process — in our big school systems in large cities where alone the second-generation of our immigrant classes is numerous enough to constitute a distinct unit and therefore a problem — we get some idea of how inaptly the whole thing is working out.

We have the child of the immigrant, regardless of past inheritance, literally poured into an academic mould which effectively levels out the individual variant and leaves its stamp of uniformity. So mechanical is the process and so unyielding that in time we can hope for that most deadening and most stultifying of all uniformity — mediocrity. It is true that heredity and environment set the limits within which it is possible to progress but as equally true is it that the opportunity for variation within such limits is enormous. The individual variant must be kept free and allowed to expand and become "individuated," to use a sociological term.

Considering the "high-variability" of the Italian nature, how much greater is the loss to this group, which inevitably results from this "cribbing, confining, and cabinning" process of our regimenal-mould schools; and how disastrous to the growing and plastic nature of any child!

In speaking of the waste of talent that this system entails with respect to the Italian, Miss Brandt says "the chief responsibility for the waste of this aptitude of artistic handicraft possessed by the Italians rests not with the parent's avarice nor on race prejudice but in American educational systems and our own failure to appreciate what we are throwing away. We must first of all, if we are to accept and use to our own advantage the gifts which the Italian brings, educate ourselves into an appreciation of those gifts."* In suggesting a remedy

* Brandt, Lillian — "A Transplanted Birthright or the Second-generationed Italians in an American Environment." Charities 1904. Vol. 12, p 499.

Woods says "the new generation is in many cases hindered by the ignorant superstitions of the elders. One way of breaking the unfortunate tradition of illiteracy which exists particularly among the recent Italians and which leads them to put their children to work as soon as possible would be to provide in the public schools greatly increased opportunities for manual and technical training along with book work. The tendency of parents to take their children away from the schools is in part a just judgment upon the narrow and abstract character of the school curriculum." Jane Addams deprecates severely this same attitude saying

> "many people . . . have become impatient with the slow recognition on the part of educators of their manifest obligation to prepare and nourish the child and the citizen for social relations. The democratic ideal demands of the school that it shall give the child's own experience a social value; that it shall teach him to direct his own activities and adjust them to other people.
>
> "We are impatient with the schools which lay all stress on reading and writing suspecting them to rest on the assumption that the ordinary experiences of life are worth little and that all knowledge and interest must be brought to the child through the medium of books. This may be best illustrated by observations made in a large Italian colony situated in Chicago, the children of which are for the most part sent to the public schools.
>
> "The members of the Italian colony are largely from South Italy- Calabrian, Sicilian peasants or Neapolitans from the workingmens' quarters of that city . . . . Their experiences have been those of simple out-door activity and their ideas have come directly to them from their struggle with nature. The women have had more diversified activities than the men. They have cooked, spun, and knitted in addition to their almost equal work in the fields. They are devoted to their children, strong in their family feeling, and clannish in their community work.
>
> "The child of such a family receives constant stimulus of a most exciting sort from his city street life but he has little or no opportunity to use his energies constructively in any direction. No activity is supplied to take the place of that which in Italy he would naturally have found in his own surroundings and no new union with wholesome American life is made for him.
>
> "Italian parents count upon the fact that their children learn the English language and American customs be-

> fore they do themselves and the children to act as interpreters . . . resulting in a certain almost pathetic dependence of the family upon the child. When an Italian child first goes to school the event is fraught with much significance for all the others.
> "Yet the first thing that the boy must do when he reaches school is to sit still and he must learn to listen to all that is said to him . . . He does not find this very stimulating and is slow to respond to the more subtle incentives of the school-room. The Italian peasant child is perfectly indifferent to showing off and making a good recitation. He leaves all that to his schoolfellows who are more sophisticated and equipped with better English. His parents are not deeply interested in keeping him in school.
> "It is much easier to go over the old paths of education with "manual training" thrown in, as it were. It is much simpler to appeal to the old ambitions of "getting on in life" or of "preparing for a profession" . . . than to work out new methods on democratic lines. There is a pitiful failure to recognize the situation in which the majority of working people are placed."*

Miss Addams believes that the Italian has "affections and memories" that we leave untouched and which would afford a source of tremendous dynamic power if utilized. She would have us stress more the real experiences thru which these people daily pass in their going about and executing the common things of life. Miss Scudder's observations point to the same conclusions namely that (1) an effort to broaden experience should be made so that appreciation may become more general for the Italian child, and (2) a better correlation of studies should be effected in matters more directly suited to his practical needs.**

When to such peoples in general, and to the American of Italian extraction in particular, is extended the option of continuing in school — they are almost unanimous in their negations with respect to further formal study. Dr. Van Denburg who found such a condition to be true explained this to be the reason why so many students of Italian origin, are early eliminated in the High Schools of New York City.

* Addams, Jane — Democracy and Social Ethics, p 178 seq.

** Scudder — Suggestions on Methods of Work and the Course of Study for the Italian Child.

Add the fact that there is lacking to that element that comes to us from Italy, any culture tradition or generation of educated minds and one has all the items for working out a statistical coefficient for this condition of early elimination and retardation of Italian students.

The attempt to get at and remedy the present imperfect state of educational affairs is of recent origin. Gary plans, industrial, vocational, and pre-vocational schools, play and study schools, the new Junior high-school movement all are a direct play for the more adequate recognition and organized catering to individual differences.

A new note in modern educational administration is sounded by Dr. Kandel when he points out the fact that the United States alone is the only power of importance that lacks an authoritative ministry of education. "A strong centralized agency charged with coordinating and establishing standards for different types of minds in the various communities is lacking If some such aid were to be given to the detached local administrative units affording them the advantage of a perspective that otherwise is unobtainable because of their proximity to an intense and what is apt to be a narrow field, this matter of having socialized and industrialized education looms up as a possible reality.*

"Socialized education" following from the above will do more than any other one thing towards "sloughing off" class lines and make a saner and more balanced attitude between social classes possible. And in the wake of this kind of a reawakening alone, can and will follow that other great desideratum — the passing away of the slums and the problem of congestion with its train of consequent evils. The remedy is slow to catch up

*Kandel, I. L., New Republic — June 29, 1918 (Since this writing a bill has been introduced into the Senate and the House creating a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education and appropriating money for educational work in cooperation with the States. This bill has the support of the National Educational Association and the American Federation of Labor. The bill authorizes an appropriation of $100,000,000. See Popular Scientific Monthly, March 1919, p 286.

with the evil. Parks, recreational systems, playgrounds, settlements are all too pitifully inadequate when compared to the needs of the situation. This type of American of Italian extraction, Jewish-American, Irish-American, Bohemian-American, etc., will suffer a long time yet to come.

POLITICALLY DISTRIBUTE A GREATER SHARE OF EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP TO SUCH OF THOSE AS ARE FIT. Finally there is the problem of redistributing with an eye to greater effectiveness the political privileges with administrative and legislative powers into the hands of those who are fit. They in turn could then be allowed to use such power to quicken, deepen, and intensify their class's Americanism, civic loyalty, and community appreciation.

The immigrant Italian is apt to view with suspicion any first hand attempt of one whose name is Jones or Smith to approach him on political and civic matters. When he came here he was told that he was coming to a free country; where even the newsboy had a chance to become President and laborers become millionaires; that voting was a matter of personal conscience; that a minimization of control or check on personal liberty obtained and that democracy (whatever that may have meant to him) was the order of the day. Instead he came here and had his chances for the Presidency speedily dissipated; his ideas regarding a free country quickly dispelled; gold was hard to get and did not line the street pavements; voting he found to be one of the farthest things yet removed from the individual's conscience; machines ruled, bosses dictated, corruption flourished, justice did and did not work — leaving him more confused than ever — and that the government here appeared to be more restrictive than in his "homeland."

As Sartorio says "the statement of an Italian carries more weight than that of ten Americans put together for obvious reasons."*

It requires an American of his own race to set him

* Sartorio, Henry C., Social and Religious Life of Italians in America p 43.

right and show him how to pick the wheat from the chaff; how not to discard the whole because of a part either being bad or not as represented. Many Americans of Italian extraction by their readings and discussions on political topics show a healthy orientation to our American society that means much for America. They point the way for *all* Americans of all extractions to follow. Such individuals are absolutely invaluable in helping to make an adjustment between the older generations and their communities. They are an indispensible link in a long chain of links, tied to a policy the fruition of which means the development of a true Americanism. Sartorio suggests that "at a slight expense young Italian-Americans could, in a short time, be trained in American schools to be excellent and trained workers among their own people."

To such as these, growing up and demonstrating their fitness as vehicles or channels along which the spirit of American democracy may be transferred greater recognition and power should be given. Instead, not uncommonly both political and social preferment is denied, and the only reason, very often, is that such person's name ends with a vowel.

Instead of sending these "prepared" individuals out as propagandists among the masses of their own people; instead of attempting to create and cement a national solidarity and "esprit de corps" thru systematic civic and citizenship training groups and classes in extension and night-school centers—there is an untrue Americanism rampant that counts the social and political adherence of this class secure if individuals within its ranks are willing to accept two dollars for a vote once a year. Frequently community spirit instead of being broad and national is sectional and crabbed thru the ingrowing character of some institutions so abnormal as to be beyond the pale of truly American stimuli.

The Italian of his own accord rarely gets the hang of the whole thing. The American of Italian extraction breaks with this and gets away, but for the tenement type often the get-away is very much in the nature of

an escape from the frying pan into the fire. He may be free but he is apt to be directionless and consequently erratic. *Freedom* from tradition and custom *means also exposure to perversions.*

Consequently instead of experiencing loyalty to the community which gives him birth this individual is all too ready to blot it out of existence. But should America clothe him with the real possibility and responsibility of remaking the old, in the added light gained from his experience, he would undertake and put thru the task in and with pretty much the same spirit as did Hercules in his fabulously reported cleansing of the Augean stables, and with the same ultimate thoroughness in result that we suspect in the above.

America's hope, if not her only hope, in the quickest reclamation of the large immigrant colonies of her land to-day, consists in grappling to her soul and interest the offspring of these peoples and using them as tools for the accomplishments of her ends. And to these peoples the task will be as much one of pleasure as an obligation—for, it having been given to them to see light, they will not be found lacking in that spirit which seeks to disseminate light.

If Democracy means anything it means "growth." Such "growth" is imperfect unless it brings with it the duty to develop our material, social, and spiritual forces to the full. It can scarcely be said that our present political institutions as they stand and function today fulfill this requirement. How can this be changed? One way would be to bring home to the new-comers the realization that citizenship entails obligations as well as rights. Prof. Wright feels that such existing evils might be remedied or minimized by a greater attention to the fact that so many within our midst are newcomers; furthermore that the various efforts in the past to adjust these people into our institutions were based upon notions that were not altogether sound. He suggests the following:

(a) the elimination of mentally subnormal voters by appropriate psychological tests.

(b) basing registration for elections on the voter's knowledge of the issues of candidacies involved.
(c) requiring both naturalized and native citizens to undergo preliminary training for the initial use of the ballot.
(d) periodically the whole social and economic structure of the governmental area should be examined, and the standard and desires of people ascertained.

"Too often," says Sartorio, "the immigrant is made to feel how great are the material advantages in store for him in becoming an American citizen and thus is trained to enter American public and political life in a mercenary spirit."* Unquestionably this method is wrong. Sartorio's experience in becoming naturalized is the common experience. His application for naturalization papers brought a circular letter exhorting him in four different places "to become a citizen and to learn the English language in order to get a better job." He adds "the letter contains not a single appeal to the higher motives, not a reference to the duties and responsibilities of American citizenship.** A letter of this kind is symbolic of a method that demoralizes. The proper method would be to point out the higher aspects or what Sartorio calls the "altruistic" side of American citizenship and call attention to the duties it brings in sharing the responsibilities of American life.

The combined results of this and other methods mentioned earlier would be as follows: first, we would afford a demonstration to the outsider in general and to the newcomer in particular that the era of "laisser-faire" in naturalization is over; second, we would give patent proof that knowledge not race counts, and that we are started in the direction of placing in the hands of those who have demonstrated their fitness real responsibility for governmental control; third, and most important, here at least, an increasing share of attention would be given to our changing body-politic so that, as the shifting immigrant hordes and their descendants

* Sartorio, page 65. ** ibid p 66.

are shunted into place and become adjusted—their aspirations can be more easily ascertained and attention accorded them always with an eye to preserving and perpetuating the individual racial variant that the time test has shown will further and not retard our American democracy. It has remained for an American of German descent to most clearly point out the value of retaining a receptive mind to all our immigrants and permitting them to share in the widest way possible and to the utmost in the responsibilities of this government. He points out that

> "No nation ever had a more wonderful opportunity than we have of becoming rich and varied in the manifestations of its higher life. First of all we are among the great nations, the last comer in history. We have thus fallen heir to the accumulated experience of the whole world. Further we have among us millions of representatives of all the great nations of Europe; lastly our American temperament is rapidly growing more plastic to new suggestions.
>
> "As the Anglo-Saxon ideal so powerfully working thru the school, the pulpit, the press, and our political institutions, is sure always to furnish the necessary element of stability and cohesion, we can fully afford to be hospitable to many varieties of traditions and temperaments. An opposite course so far from building up a better American might easily lead to comparative impoverishments. Every American of foreign descent feels that his own interests and those of his children lie in America. His gaze is forward to the America of his future and not backward to the Europe of his past.
>
> "If the American people as a whole were to become musical as the Teutons or the Slavs, sensitive to color and line as the Italians, if they develop a deference for language like the French, without losing the Anglo-Saxon straight-forwardness, political sense and self-control, then the America of the future would correspond to that future which consciously or unconsciously even the severest Anglo-Saxon New Englander is cherishing in his heart."*

It is this "give and take" that facilitates the synthetizing process which has for its aim the evolving of a

* Camillo von Klenze—To what extent would America profit by suppressing the natural traditions of its hyphenated citizens? "Problems and Lessons of the War." Addresses, Clark University studies.

stable American type. What that ultimate type is to be like, one must be brave to venture a judgment. But one well-known leader of American educational and political thinking has ventured to describe him, viz:

> "The typical American is he who whether rich or poor, whether dwelling in North, South, East or West, whether scholar, professor, man merchant, manufacturer, farmer, or skilled worker for wages, lives the life of a good citizen and a good neighbor; who believes loyally and with all his heart in his country's institutions, in the underlying principles on which these institutions are built; who directs both his private and his public life by sound principles; who cherishes high ideals; and who aims to train his children for a useful life and for their country's service."**

** Butler, Nicholas Murray—"The American as He is." p 97.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONCLUSIONS

GENERAL

1—This is a study in **AMERICANISM,** because the people under surveillance are AMERICANS.

2—This is not a study in immigration but rather an inquiry into the "rate of synthetization" going on today among America's composite racial stocks, looked at from the sociological standpoint of one of these stocks, i. e. the Italian. In this study no question is raised as to whether the immigrant is an asset or a liability; no examination of immigrant institutions is attempted; no discursion is made into any field of immigrant activity, organization, etc., excepting as these bear inextricably upon the hereditary physical inheritances of the type under investigation.

3—No ultimate definition of either "Americanism" or of "Democracy" is attempted here.

4—It is asserted that the methodology for defining "Americanism" and "Democracy" looked at from their ethnico-sociological aspects must be thru (a) on the one hand the detailed diagnosis of the "human-nature-stuff" involved in such types of individuals whom we have in this study labelled "Americans of Italian extraction" (psychological) together with similar studies of Americans of Jewish extraction, of Irish extraction, of Russian extraction etc.; (b) on the other hand the survey, classification and categorization of the different types of institutions and other tangible phenomena (sociological) that are the products of the above "human-nature-stuff" in the different social and economic stratifications into which at many places, as all indications point, our second generation of Americans of all extractions is beginning to ramify; (c) the synthesis of such detailed studies as relate to and affect the evolving of types of mind and forms of social organ-

ization that we can label as being distinctly American — all of this indicating a sifting process that involves considerable time.

5—Racial characteristics are not necessarily indices of inferiority or superiority.

6—Following from this is a strongly indicated probability that almost every time one can point to a defection among second generation of Americans as a class whether they be Americans of Italian extraction, of Jewish extraction, of Polish extraction, etc., he is apt to be scoring an indictment against this country and its institutions. So that the more one can legitimately take stock in the observations, experiments and laboratory findings of the scholars of the world, supplemented by the conclusions of social workers and those in close touch with practical conditions among a new people in our environment — the greater is the accumulation of guilt on the part of an unseeing and consequently non-providing community that suffers congestion, slums and controllable forms of vice to exist.

SPECIFIC

1—There is no such thing as an Italian problem in America in speaking of the type under discussion here. Calling this an Italian problem is a misnomer. These Americans of Italian extraction *are* Americans first and last, tho in some cases a sub-normal type of American.

2—The American of Italian extraction in New York City represents a "transitional" type of American. Of a total 406,805 such persons residing here 81 per cent are below twenty-one years of age pointing to the immature stage at which we find them. This explains the high percentages of 7.8 and 72.7 for these people found respectively in the kindergarten, primary and grammar grades. As yet they have not become adjusted to our social, economic and political life.

3—There is no way of telling what one or more partic-

ular occupations the American element of our Italian speaking population is most favorably disposed towards. The only certain thing is that they will not make up the back-bone of our "muscle and brawn" population as was true of the parent. If both Italy and America alike bar migration the day of Italian "manovrali" is over.

4—Indications point out that in matters of language, citizenship, religion and in all forms of social welfare and philanthropy the Italian strain is in no way so different "per se" as to be distinguished in presenting any greatly different problem when compared with other stocks in New York City.

5—The American of Italian origin is "persona grata" because of his sociable qualities and light-heartedness. This makes him quickly and easily assimilable and mixed marriages can be readily looked for in the future particularly with the Irish and German elements.

6—Disease has taken a higher toll from the Italian than from any other racial stock in New York City due chiefly to ignorance and the extreme contrast presented in the passage, within the same generation, from an active out-door life in an almost ideal climate, to one of confinement, squalor, of inadequate sanitation, of frequent overwork and improper food diet. Within the last ten years in New York City alone, rickets, tuberculosis and diptheria have taken such a heavy toll that the Italian strain, with respect to these diseases, seems to have acquired what amounts to a heightened susceptibility.

7—The generally "social and cooperative" or "friendly" nature of the Italian type is shown by the way he flocks into the memberships of the numerous social organizations which he has organized. The Italian colonies in New York City are to be noted for the frequency of such groups.

8—Leadership and initiative are readily discernible items to any discriminating eye and are shown to be a quality of this type as they are of other races of superior

culture. Most of the groupings of the educated Americans of Italian extraction show these qualities and particularly is this noticeable in the social, civic, and educational welfare groupings.

9—Tho yet too early to judge adequately there seems to be no great inheritance of artistic temperament among the Americans of Italian origin in New York City coming forth to-day, as a thing "en masse." What does seem to exist among the children of this strain in the New York City public schools is a greater tendency towards manual and industrial arts and allied forms of artistic handicrafts. While to such tendencies the general academic program is narrow and cribbing, nevertheless the mental traits for this element as a whole are not different enough to warrant a special curriculum for them.

10—The Italian temperament is distinctive in that it registers high and low changes quickly. The convivial temperament of the Italian race allows for a large modicum of imagination, high emotion and intensity of feeling.

11—Italians here have added to this country's wealth most distinctively by virtue of the inherent traits of industry and thrift that characterize their race. In New York City nearly 85% of the adult Italian population are employed in our industries. Eighteen percent of the contributors to the symposium in an earlier chapter declared these traits to be his chief contribution. This was the highest percentage of any of the contributions listed.

12—The Italian strain is adding most distinctively to-day to our national psychology the qualities of buoyancy, cheerfulness, good fellowship and adaptability. Contributors to the symposium above noted pointed this out next to his industry and thrift, as his chief distinguishing trait.

13—An "artistic" inheritance, esthetic appreciation, love for music, etc., are items which future generations may hope for because of the infiltration of the Italian element into our midst, and its rate of realiza-

tion may be almost said to vary directly with their economic uplift.

14—Stated in a word—while the Italian strain contributes "industry and thrift" it "loses" or rather has temporarily submerged part of its artistic and esthetic inheritance and "gains" in return for this personal freedom, educational and economic advancement and an opportunity for an unrestricted expression of self thru the development of individual personality.

15—Both extensive and intensive observation and experimentation with groups of Americans of Italian extraction substantiate the finding that the inherent qualities, the innate germinal potentialities of all peoples of superior cultures, which includes the Italian, tending to uniformity make for an equalization of product. When such is not the case one has but to look for some inner and hidden perverting cause in the social organization, educational system or economic or political conditions. Apparently the American of Italian extraction has been subjected to a disproportionately great amount of such disturbing influences, due chiefly to his ignorance of the language, lack of generations of trained minds behind him, an inordinate pressure sustained in making a living, etc., and so as with other second generations of Americans of Jewish, German, Polish and Bohemian stocks, his product has been curtailed.

That this above has been the case rather than that the racial character can be impugned is demonstrated by the fact that all perversions noticed among Italians in New York City can be duplicated among the Jews, Greeks, Bohemians, Russians, etc., today and was once as equally true among the Germans and the Irish in their earlier days of colonization here; that when a group was selected and operated upon, with respect to chosen social, educational, moral and finally economic stimili, the consequent reactions were fully on a par with those of any other group of like grade and selection.

16—Inasmuch as racial characteristics are not neces-

sarily indicative of inferiority or superiority, the excessive emotialism, effervescence and demonstrativeness (physical) of the Italian are not necessarily signs .of inferiority or marks of lower mentality An Italian while more prone to color and gesticulation, does not reason any the less for this but may have as active a mind as the more phlegmatic German or restrained Englishman; that probably it is as difficult for the German to disrupt his composure as it is for the Italian to maintain serenity. Racial characteristics are not necessarily true indices of "controlled and reasoned out" reactions and certainly do not present the whole of the "coefficient" that makes for a relationship. While 85 percent of the Italian speaking people of New York City were classed as belonging to an ideo-emotional type* as compared to the 2.5 percent representing the critical-intellectual this is a proportion not different from the general run of mental modes for the entire population of the United States as was found by Professor Giddings.**

17—Finally comes the most hopeful conclusion of all based upon a comparison between extreme types of Americans of Italian extraction that have gone before and those that are with us to-day. Years ago a "tenement" type of American of Italian extraction existed which organized itself into lawless bands of corrupt youths, infesting the tenement districts, terrorizing police and private citizens alike and composing a community within a community that set up its own law in defiance of the legalized guardians of the peace and public safety. The American of Italian extraction was as numerous, if he was not more numerous than any other group or portion of this petty brigand or thug class. The "Five Points" gang was composed entirely of Italians, as was Jack Sirocco's gang, The Gophers, The Red Onion gang of South Brooklyn, Monk Eastman's gang, containing fifty percent of Ameri-

* See page 117, supra.

** Giddings, Franklin, Inductive Sociology, p. 285.

cans of Italian blood, all testifying to a once prevalent type of American that is fast disappearing, if not entirely gone. One needs to go into the Italian sections to-day in this city to see how radical has been the redirection afforded the pent-up energies of this vivacious type. The other extreme, the professional type, is also well worth noting. Judge John J. Freschi says that in 1890 there were but two Italian speaking lawyers and seventeen physicians in New York City. To-day Americans of this type in professional work number thousands. Thanks to the "high" potentiality" of the race, many a street cleaner's son, as well as offspring of boot-black and rag-picker, has become either a lawyer, a doctor or a teacher. Changing American conditions and attitudes too must not be overlooked. These have played a big part that is not to be underestimated. They have made possible the tremendous increase of opportunities. What is hoped for is that in view of the showing made by this contrast of extremes, the opinion will universally prevail, that the profits and reward accruing to America is commensurate with the degree of readiness she displays in both materially and spiritually recognizing these Americans of Italian parentage to be as much her kith and kin as those who can boast of Puritan ancestry; and that her good in this respect is circumscribed only by her unwillingness to help herself. As the dean of Italian speaking doctors in New York City says:

> "It can easily be seen that sickness, vice, and delinquency which is so deplorable in the second generation is not due to the innate depravity of the people, but to the environment in which they are forced to live. These are only passing evils of one generation which is progressing, and the inevitable disadvantages of a people that is trying to adapt itself to a new home. They represent a state of *transition* but still we must not despair."*

* Stella, Dr. Antonio—"Effetti dell' Urbanismo etc." p 91.

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